

CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

APRIL
1918

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APRIL

AMERICA AT WAR

(A MONTH'S RECORD)

Russia's Capitulation
(Official Reports of Peace Parleys)

Jerusalem Campaign
(Official Reports)

Von Hertling's Peace Speech
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WHERE THE AMERICANS ARE FIGHTING IN FRANCE



The eight-mile sector on the Lorraine front taken over by the Americans lies between Fliry and Apremont on the southern side of the St. Mihiel salient. Arrows indicate other sectors where Americans are fighting

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FIELD MARSHAL SIR DOUGLAS HAIG



A new portrait of the British Commander in Chief from a drawing
in color by Francis Dodd

(Reproduced from "Generals of the British Army," by courtesy of the George
H. Doran Company)

CURRENT HISTORY

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CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 20, 1918]

THE MONTH'S WAR DEVELOPMENTS

THE chief events during the month ended March 20, 1918, were political. Transcending all else in importance was the complete collapse of Russia, an event in which the policy of the Bolsheviks attained its logical result in their acceptance of a humiliating peace, forced upon them by the Central Powers. Rumania followed suit, being compelled by her isolation to sign a mortifying peace in order to escape the complete extinction of her separate sovereignty. The secession of Ukraina and Finland from the former Russian Empire had provoked civil war, and fierce struggles raged in both regions throughout the month between the secessionists, who were aided by the Germans and Austrians, and the Bolsheviks.

The Germans made a separate peace treaty with Finland, as they had with Ukraina, and crossed the latter country to the Black Sea, occupying Kiev, Odessa, and other chief cities on the pretense of aiding the Rada. The Turks at the same time received a valuable strip of Trans-Caucasia, torn from Russia by the peace treaty, while Rumania was forced to give up her Black Sea littoral, thus placing that sea wholly under control of the Central Powers, with unobstructed rail connection from Berlin to Odessa, thence through Batum, on the Asiatic side, into the heart of Asia.

The Supreme War Conference, consisting of the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, France, and Italy, issued a declaration on March 19 refusing to acknowledge the peace treaties signed by the Russians and Rumanians, and pledging their countries to continue fighting until they had "finished once for all the German policy of plunder, and established in its place the peaceful reign of organized justice."

There was considerable agitation over the possible intervention of Japan in Siberia in order to protect the allied interests in that part of Asia. All the

allied countries gave their assent; the United States registered no protest, but refused to assent to the suggestion.

The United States and Great Britain, on March 14, announced their intention of seizing more than 600,000 tons of Dutch shipping which had been lying idle in their ports, agreeing to make reparation and give compensation at the end of the war, meanwhile supplying fuel and food to Holland. This action was taken in consequence of the refusal of the Dutch to transfer their ships voluntarily on account of threats by Germany to torpedo these vessels if Holland yielded to the Allies' request.

The American troops took over three sectors of the front in France. Troops continued to leave American ports in large numbers throughout the month. No figures were given out, but it was stated that the expectation of having 500,000 men in France in the early Spring would be realized. Details of the prodigious progress made by the United States in war preparations appear in subsequent pages of this issue.

The military operations of the month were unimportant. The expected German offensive on the western front did not materialize. The activities consisted of numerous raids from both sides. The British made further advances in Palestine and Mesopotamia. There were intermittent raids and bombardments on the Italian front, but no general engagement developed.

* * *

THE WAR FORCED ON FRANCE

STEPHEN PICHON, the French Foreign Minister, in an address at the Sorbonne in Paris, March 1, 1918, made public two documents, one of which made clear the German Government's longstanding determination to force war upon France, while the other furnished an acknowledgment by Germany that she regarded Alsace-Lorraine in 1870 as French territory. It was explained that the documents had not previously been

published, because the code could not be deciphered; the Foreign Office had succeeded only a few days before in deciphering the document. In referring to the forcing of the war, M. Pichon said:

I will establish by documents that the day the Germans deliberately rendered inevitable the most frightful of wars they tried to dishonor us by the most cowardly complicity in the ambush into which they drew Europe. I will establish it in the revelation of a document which the German Chancellor, after having drawn it up, preserved carefully, and you will see why, in the most profound mystery of the most secret archives.

We have known only recently of its authenticity, and it defies any sort of attempt to disprove it. It bears the signature of Bethmann Hollweg (German Imperial Chancellor at the outbreak of the war) and the date July 31, 1914. On that day von Schön (German Ambassador to France) was charged by a telegram from his Chancellor to notify us of a state of danger of war with Russia and to ask us to remain neutral, giving us eighteen hours in which to reply.

What was unknown until today was that the telegram of the German Chancellor containing these instructions ended with these words:

If the French Government declares it will remain neutral your Excellency will be good enough to declare that we must, as a guarantee of its neutrality, require the handing over of the fortresses of Toul and Verdun; that we will occupy them and will restore them after the end of the war with Russia. A reply to this last question must reach here before Saturday afternoon at 4 o'clock.

That is how Germany wanted peace at the moment when she declared war! That is how sincere she was in pretending that we obliged her to take up arms for her defense! That is the price she intended to make us pay for our baseness if we had the infamy to repudiate our signature as Prussia repudiated hers by tearing up the treaty that guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium!

Bethmann Hollweg on March 18 acknowledged the accuracy of M. Pichon's quotation and declared that his instructions to von Schön were justified.

Taking up the question of Alsace-Lorraine, M. Pichon said:

Our mortal enemy in the war of 1871, von Moltke, declared on the morrow of the Treaty of Frankfurt that it would require no less than fifty years to wean the heart of her lost provinces from France.

M. Pichon contrasted the German acceptance then that the provinces were in reality French with the reiterated pretensions of German statesmen since, especially the assertions of former Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg and the present Chancellor, Count von Hertling, that in the main the provinces were always German.

The Foreign Minister made public for the first time the full text of a letter written by William I., the grandfather of the present German Emperor, to Empress Eugénie. The letter is dated Versailles, Oct. 26, 1870, and says:

After the immense sacrifices for her defense, Germany desires to be assured that the next war will find her better prepared to repel the aggression upon which we can count as soon as France shall have repaired her forces and gained allies. This is the melancholy consideration alone, and not a desire to augment my country, whose territory is sufficiently great, that obliges me to insist upon a cession of territories that has no other object than to throw back to the starting point the French armies which in the future will come to attack us.

After reading this passage M. Pichon asked:

Can one better destroy the legend which von Hertling tries to establish—that the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine had for its origin in the minds of its authors the wish to return to Germany German provinces of which she had been dispossessed by French usurpation?

* * *

GERMANY'S ANNEXATION PLANS

HUGO HAASE, leader of the Independent Socialists, during an argument in the Main Committee of the Reichstag early in February, read excerpts from a secret official communication sent to the Austro-Hungarian Government by Chancellor Michaelis outlining the German Government's plans for annexation of parts of Russia and France. He read these for the purpose of proving that the German Government, while pretending to pay heed to the Reichstag majority resolution of July 19, 1917, calling for peace without annexations or war indemnities, really had no idea of giving up its Junker policy of seizing all the foreign territory it thought practicable. When the items were read the Government's representa-

tives at the session did not question their genuineness, but a few days later the *Kölnische Zeitung*, a Government mouth-piece, tried to prove them falsified. In answer, says The Manchester Guardian, Deputy Haase gave the document, which was written by the then Imperial Chancellor, Dr. Michaelis, to the *Leipziger Volkszeitung* for publication. Its salient paragraphs read as follows:

The motive of all of Germany's acts is the lack of territory, both for the development of commerce and colonization. Germany has to solve two problems—the freedom of the seas and the opening of a route to the southeast. And these two problems can only be solved through the destruction of England. Our object is the permanent securing of the German Empire in Central Europe and the extension of its territory.

No one who understands the significance of this war can doubt that, in spite of our wish to be moderate, we shall not allow ourselves to be deterred from extending the borders of the empire and from, under all circumstances, annexing such territories as are fitted for colonization and are not subjected to the influence of the sea powers.

We cannot defeat Russia, because we are not in a position to strike directly at the heart of the country, but we can weaken her materially by taking away her border territories, the Baltic provinces. By using skillful policies the Baltic provinces can easily be Germanized. They will be settled with Germans and their population will double itself. That is the reason why they must be annexed.

We wish the independence of the Ukraine and hope that the Ukraine will, if possible, be bounded by a line that can easily be defended against the Russians.

The frontier between the German Empire and Poland must be materially altered. Esthonia and North Livonia will be completely protected through the fortification of the right bank of the Narva and the Pripet. The lakes, which we shall not leave in the hands of the Russians at any price, will be included within our borders. The Dagö and Oesel Islands will remain German in order to make the Baltic safe against attack from the sea.

We shall take only parts of French territory so as to safeguard the empire against future attacks by the republic.

In the Vosges the boundary line must be improved through the annexation of some valleys, so that the German frontier troops can no longer be fired upon from French territory. France will lose Briey and a strip of land west of Luxemburg. The value of Briey in an economic and military sense is evident from the fact that 16,000,000 tons of iron ore are pro-

duced there. For the safeguarding of the German and Luxemburg iron industry and its territory Longwy must remain in our hands. France must be compensated by a piece of the provinces of Hennegau, Brabant, and Luxemburg.

* * *

DURATION OF THE PRESENT WAR AND OF FORMER WARS

IN considering the probable duration of the war, the analogy is suggested that in earlier periods of European history wars continued through whole generations. When, in 1066, the Duke of Normandy, the greatest vassal of France, became also King of England, the Kings of France began a struggle, which continued at intervals for centuries, to drive the rulers of England from French soil. A period of great military activity began in 1338, when Edward III. declared war on France, thus opening the first hundred years' war, which lasted, with brief truces, until 1453, and of which Joan of Arc was the heroine. A second period of protracted fighting began with the wars of Louis XIV., in 1667, when his ambition to conquer the Netherlands was frustrated by William of Orange, (later King of England.)

After a lull fighting began again in 1689, which was destined to continue almost up to the time of the French Revolution, and which involved both America and India. In 1756 Washington and Clive, the one in Pennsylvania, the other on the Ganges, were both English officers fighting against France. This second hundred years' war included the war of the Spanish succession, in which the first Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, won supreme distinction, and the war of the Austrian succession, which laid the foundation of Prussia's future power. The last period, from 1775 to 1783, covered the time of our own Revolution.

After a very brief interval the wars of the French Revolution and of Napoleon I. followed, covering the periods from 1792 to 1815. From 1803 to 1815 there was almost incessant fighting, made notable by the supreme military genius of Napoleon. Another long war belongs more to German history—the Thirty

Years' War, 1618-48. It is recorded to have been the most destructive and bloodthirsty war in history. Mansfield and Wallenstein, one on either side, adopted the policy of "frightfulness," by which half the population and two-thirds of the property of Germany were swept out of existence. Not until 1850 did some sections of Germany contain as many homesteads and cattle as in 1618.

* * *

FOR A CZECHO-SLOVAK NATION

A DECLARATION in favor of complete independence for Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia in a unified Czechoslovak State was adopted at Prague on Jan. 6, 1918, by a convention which included all the Czechoslovak Deputies in the Austrian Reichsrat and in the Diets of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, together with representatives of the commercial and literary classes, besides Dr. Kramarz and other Deputies who were deprived of their seats in the Reichsrat, and imprisoned for their participation in a similar declaration on May 30 last by the club of Czech Deputies in the Reichsrat. The convention was described as "a Constituent Assembly of the Czech Nation."

The declaration of the convention was suppressed by the Austrian censor and did not reach the United States until March 14. It was reaffirmed on Feb. 10, according to Czechoslovak leaders in this country, by a meeting of Czech Deputies of the Reichsrat, including all the representatives of all parties.

The resolution of Jan. 6, together with criticisms of Count Czernin's attitude in the negotiations at Br st-Litovsk which were made at the same meeting, were bitterly attacked in the Austrian Reichsrat on Jan. 22 by Dr. von Seydler, the Prime Minister, who has since resigned. "One looks in vain in this resolution," he said, "for even a distant note of attachment to the dynasty and the State as a whole. Our enemies may read in it an encouragement to persevere in the pursuit of principles which conflict with the existence of the present Austrian State. It must be rejected with indignation by every Austrian and re-

sisted by every Austrian Government with all the means at its disposal."

The only reply to this was the reaffirmation of Feb. 10 and the declaration of Czech newspapers of all parties, including the Socialist, that the nation stood firmly behind its representatives.

* * *

AMERICAN LITHUANIANS IN CONVENTION

A CONVENTION of 1,800 Lithuanian delegates from all parts of the United States, comprising representative men of that nationality in this country, was held in New York, March 14-15, 1918. Resolutions were adopted repeating the demand for absolute independence for Lithuania "as a sovereign and independent democratic State within its own ethnographic boundaries, with the necessary corrections." Fear that the peace conferences at the war's end might be influenced to insist on union with Poland was expressed by many of the speakers, and there was insistence by the entire convention that the independence to be accorded the nation must be entire and free from any Polish connection.

While the suggestion of several delegates that Poland be named specifically in the resolutions demanding independence was not carried out, the opposition to union with Poland was so marked that a resolution was adopted declaring that land in Lithuania should be owned only by citizens of Lithuania. "This is aimed," said a statement issued by the organization of the convention, "against the danger of other nations buying up the land and colonizing with men of their own nationality." This danger is feared from both Germany and Poland, and the present ownership of large estates in Lithuania by a Polonized nobility gave a considerable impetus to the support of this resolution.

It was also voted as the sentiment of the convention, however, that full freedom should be accorded to the peoples of other nationalities living within the Lithuanian Republic. This would give recognition of cultural rights to the Polish minority found in many districts where the population is predominantly Lithuanian, but more particularly it would operate to guarantee cultural autonomy for the very

large Jewish element in the population of the country.

The Roman Catholic delegates joined in a cablegram to the Pope expressive of appreciation for his "heartly support of the right of nations to self-determination," and for his "paternal interest in Lithuania."

* * *

THE KAISER'S PAEANS OF VICTORY

THE capitulation of the Bolshevik Government of Russia was the occasion of a series of telegrams by the Kaiser in response to congratulations. These characteristic utterances indicate a fresh increase in the Kaiser's faith in the sword. On March 6 the following telegrams were sent:

To Field Marshal von Hindenburg.

Now the costly prize of victory in the long struggle is in our hands. Our Baltic brethren and countrymen are liberated from Russia's yoke, and may again feel themselves Germans. God was with us, and will continue to aid us.

To King Frederick August of Saxony:

I feel the greatest gratitude toward God and the army, which has extorted this peace. The east front now having become free, we have made an enormous step forward. Firmly trusting in the sword, I face a future which will, after all heavy sacrifices, bring us victory and a strong peace.

To Prince Leopold of Bavaria (Praising his troops):

In irresistible marches over bad roads in ice and snow they did their utmost. The victorious march in the last fortnight will remain a glorious page in the history of the German Army.

On March 8:

To Philip Heineken, Director North German Lloyd Steamship Company:

The German sword is our best protection. With God's help it will also bring us peace in the west and, indeed, the peace which, after much distress and many troubles, the German people need for a happy future.

To the Vice President of the Reichstag:

The complete victory fills me with gratitude. It permits us to live again one of those great moments in which we can reverently admire God's hand in history. The turn that events have taken is by the disposition of God.

The heroic deeds of our troops, the successes of our great Generals, and the wonderful achievements of those at home have their roots in moral forces and in the categorical imperative which has

been inculcated in our people in a hard school. They will also carry us through in a decisive and final battle to victory.

In the great tasks upon which the conclusion of peace, reconstruction, and the healing of the wounds of war will set us I desire my people to rely on the old historical experience that unity means strength. May our people face the new time and its tasks with a strong sense of the realities, with unbending faith in themselves and their mission, and with strong, patriotic, and proud joy in the Fatherland, bound to me and my house by old and proved bonds of mutual trust. I do not doubt that a rich, strong, and happy people will arise out of the storms and sacrifices of this time.

On March 9 the following:

To the Bremen Senate:

In long years of struggle the German people in arms, led by ideal Generals, have broken the Russian power and won the safety of the empire in the east. Moreover, we are finally able to respond to the call for help by the hard-pressed Germans and border peoples of Russia, who were striving for free development, and to secure for them a guarantee of new and better times.

When we look back over the events of these years and grasp the significance of the peace gained in the east, which means the bursting of the ring the enemy laid around us, we must look up to Almighty God with heartfelt thanks, who has so gloriously directed everything. We will draw from this fact strong confidence that the end of the world war will open a happy future to our beloved German Fatherland.

On March 10:

To the Prussian Upper House:

Even if the road to a general peace is a long one, a good beginning has been made, and I confidently trust that our victorious sword and steadfast unity in this serious work soon will bring us within sight of the goal, which will give us the great peace. God grant it.

To the East Prussian Diet:

The Province of East Prussia is especially dear to my heart. In this war it has made great sacrifices and, therefore, it will more gladly acknowledge the hand of God as now shown in the east. We owe our victory largely to the moral and spiritual treasures which the great philosopher of Königsberg bestowed upon our people. [The reference is to Immanuel Kant, who was born there in 1724.]

* * *

THE number of noncombatants, including women and children, who lost their lives in air raids in England up to Feb. 13, 1918, was 1,284; 3,105 were in-

jured. The number of noncombatants of Great Britain, including women and children, killed by German U-boats during the war up to Feb. 13, 1918, totaled 12,836. No statistics are given of the number of submarine victims whose health has been permanently injured by their experience.

* * *

THE CHECKERED HISTORY OF ODESSA

THE seizure of Odessa by a German force, several days after the signing of a peace with Ukraina, in whose territory Odessa is at present, recalls the many vicissitudes of the great Black Sea port, which has, at different periods, been in the hands of half a dozen nationalities. During the days following the expedition of Jason and the Argonauts to seek the golden fleece in what is now Georgia, (a small country which still depicts the golden fleece in its national coat of arms,) there was extensive Greek colonization of the northern shore of the Euxine or Black Sea, and a grand trade route ran from Odessos, a Greek settlement half way between the Dnieper and the Bug, as far north as the Baltic, from which amber was brought to Greece.

For several centuries, this region drops out of history, to reappear, in the fourteenth century, as a port of Lithuania; it was subsequently held by the Poles, who absorbed Lithuania; by the Tartars, and by the Turks, who, after much hard fighting, finally ceded it to Russia in 1791, in the days of Catherine the Great, who owes her title largely to this victorious war against Turkey. A French Captain, de Ribas, a French architect, Volland, and a French nobleman, Armand, Duc de Richelieu, greatly enlarged and beautified the city under Catherine's orders, and Richelieu's statue still dominates the city, standing in the central square at the head of the immense staircase of 200 granite steps which leads down from the high ground on which the city is built to the quays of the port.

This high ground, from 100 to 150 feet above sea level, runs back into the "black soil" of the rich wheat lands. It rests on sandstone, which has been

quarried out, forming catacombs beneath the town. Odessa, (which had, just before the war, a population of 630,000, being the third city in Russia,) though it is in the south of Russia, lies, in fact, about on the latitude of Montreal, and has a correspondingly severe climate, with a Winter average of 23 degrees Fahrenheit, so that the harbors are frozen for two or three weeks each year. Moscow is more than a thousand miles north of Odessa.

* * *

ACHIEVEMENTS OF GREAT BRITAIN IN 1917

ANDREW BONAR LAW, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking in the House of Commons Feb. 14, summarized the achievements of the Government in 1917 as follows:

MAN-POWER.—In 1917 we put into the army 820,645 additional men. We placed in civil employment at home 731,000 men and 804,000 women.

FOOD PRODUCTION.—Last year 1,000,000 additional acres were brought under the plough. The additional amount of cereals produced was 850,000 tons, and of potatoes 3,000,000 tons. Already this year a further 800,000 acres had been brought under the plough in England, and 400,000 in Scotland and Wales.

WHEAT STOCKS.—There were 2,000,000 more quarters of wheat in this country at the end of last year than at the end of December, 1916.

SHIPBUILDING.—In 1916 the total quantity built was 539,000 tons. In 1917 the tonnage built in this country was 1,163,474 tons, and we secured abroad 170,000 tons in addition.

BETTER USE OF SHIPS.—Notwithstanding the loan of 1,500,000 gross tons to the Allies we imported precisely the same amount from September to November last year as from February to April. Whereas before the war every 100 tons net shipping brought to this country 106 tons of goods, the average was now 150 tons.

TIMBER.—We succeeded last year in reducing the imports of timber by 3,000,000 tons. That has been made good by an increase of 1,800,000 tons at home, and the balance has been made good by our work in France.

MUNITIONS.—The number of guns available in France increased last year by 30 per cent. The supply of airplanes in 1917 was two and a half times as great as in 1916.

AMERICA IN THE WAR

A MONTH'S PROGRESS IN BELLIGERENT ACTIVITIES AT HOME AND AT THE FRONT

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 18, 1918]

A LARGER number of American troops on four different sectors of the French front and a growing casualty list have been the chief indications during the last month of the increasing strength of the United States as a military factor in the war. At home the army has been growing mainly through enlistments in the regular branch of the service, by the calling up of the last increments of the first draft for the national army, and of additional men to replace those who have fallen out through death, illness, and other causes. The multifarious activities of equipping troops, providing munitions and supplies, and keying up the war machine are outlined in the article on Page 14. War Department and army officials have made many changes and improvements in the light of criticism and experience, and there has consequently been a marked decrease in the amount of faultfinding and dissatisfaction.

In the industrial sphere there has been corresponding progress. The railway congestion and coal shortage of January were relieved by the drastic measures already recorded in these pages, and the projected series of ten "heatless Mondays" was discontinued after the third week. The most serious delay in the war program has been in aircraft production; in consequence, German aviators have been able to fly over the American lines and obtain valuable information as to the positions held by our troops.

In shipbuilding, the initial stage of creating and equipping yards is well-nigh complete, and all the big establishments created in the last few months are now rapidly laying keels. From some of the new yards ships have already been launched, and will soon be ready for serv-

ice. Much of the discontent of the workmen has disappeared, and by a process of eliminating the less competent and more unruly the labor forces are both more adequate and more adapted to fulfilling the nation's requirements.

With the passing of the Winter the fuel situation has eased; while food, though still at the abnormal prices caused by unusual conditions, causes no anxiety.

The chief measure passed by Congress has been the Railroad Control bill, which in its final form prescribes that the roads are to remain in the hands of the Government for twenty-one months after the war, and that the guaranteed income to the owners shall be about \$945,000,000 a year. Legislation to establish a War Finance Corporation is still under discussion. A bill to increase the war powers of the President is meeting with considerable opposition. A bill to set forward the clocks of the country one hour during the seven months beginning the last Sunday in March has been passed. The daylight saving law, as it is called, will, it is expected, effect considerable economies in fuel for lighting purposes.

The further financing of the war is to be partly met by a third Liberty loan, the opening of which has been set for April 6.

The embargo laws, controlling exports and imports, have proved very effective in compelling the neutral countries of Northern Europe to enter into agreements which practically complete the blockade of Germany.

The summary of casualties to March 18 among American troops showed 152 killed in action, 142 killed by accident, 671 died of disease, 237 lost at sea, 6 fatally gassed, 584 wounded, 21 captured, and 14 missing.

Americans' Baptism of Fire in France

FOR an ever-increasing number of American soldiers life in the trenches, with its attendant risks and excitements of making or repelling raids, is becoming a matter of course. Slowly and steadily the men of Pershing's army have been taking over parts of the line hitherto held by the French, and are now in positions on at least four sectors of the front. The longest of these sectors is that northwest of Toul, and is about eight miles in length. [For maps see article on "Military Events of the Month."]

While the primary object of occupying trenches on different parts of the line has so far been that of training officers and men in modern warfare, the beginnings of the nation's sacrifice are seen in the classified list of casualties which was published by the War Department on March 15. From the arrival of the first contingent in France up to that date the summary showed the following:

Killed in action.....	136
Killed by accident.....	134
Died of disease.....	641
Lost at sea.....	237
Suicide	11
Unknown causes.....	13
Died of wounds.....	26
Executed	1
Civilians	7
Gassed	6

Total deaths.....	1,212
Wounded	475
Captured	21
Missing	14

Total casualties..... 1,722

Soon after the Americans took up positions in the sector northwest of Toul the Germans began to concentrate artillery opposite them, and, aided by airplanes, which flew repeatedly over the American positions, made a target of them. From hardly more than 150 shells a day the Germans now increased the number to about a thousand, but the American guns replied with at least two or three shells for every one fired by the Germans. Artillery dueling thus became as much

a feature of the Americans' training under actual war conditions as infantry work. The activity of the German airplanes was the most exasperating to them, because of lack of machines to fight them, especially when German aviators dared to fly low enough to empty machine guns into the American trenches and positions behind the lines.

The participation of American units in the defense of the famous Chemin des Dames (Aisne) sector was announced on Feb. 22. They had been there for some time, but their presence was kept a secret until it was certain that the enemy knew of their presence. This announcement showed that United States troops were now on the front in three different sectors, namely St. Mihiel, Champagne, and the Aisne. The first raid in which Americans took part in the Chemin des Dames sector was in conjunction with French troops on Feb. 23. A whole battalion volunteered, but only two officers and twenty-six men were selected to make up the party of 100 men who, protected by barrage fire, raided the German lines and captured a number of prisoners.

Americans were subjected to two formidable gas attacks on the morning of Feb. 26. Some of the men were caught by the gas before they were able to adjust their masks, with the result that several were fatally gassed; altogether about sixty men were more or less severely affected by the poisonous fumes. A couple of days later the Germans again used gas in a vigorous attack which was preceded by a heavy barrage fire directed against the American positions. The French and German official reports of March 1, describing a hand-to-hand encounter in which Americans were associated with French troops, indicated that one of the American positions was near Chavignon, north of the western end of the Chemin des Dames and a mile and a half northwest of Pargny-Filain.

Both on the Chemin des Dames and Toul sectors the Germans continued to make attacks which were obviously

directed against the American positions and to counter the raids by American troops. American heavy artillery was brought into action with good results, while the infantrymen acquitted themselves excellently. They were becoming accustomed to gas attacks and to meet the onset of German troops specially trained in trench raiding and shock tactics. A map found on the body of a German officer who was killed in one of these attacks proved how completely the Germans prepared their raids. It showed in detail every machine-gun emplacement, every trench, and every depression in the ground within the American lines.

A dispatch dated March 6 contained the information that American troops were on still another part of the French front, a sector in Lorraine. This position was described as east of Lunéville, near the border between French and German Lorraine. From the point of view of artillery fighting, this sector became the liveliest of any occupied by the Americans. American artillerymen demolished the German trenches and American infantry captured enemy positions northwest and northeast of Badonviller, which is about fifty-five miles southeast of where the United States troops were located in the Toul sector. The raids

carried out by the Americans near Lunéville were the most important to date.

General Pershing returned to his headquarters on Feb. 22 after a tour of inspection of the American front. He found that the troops were making steady progress daily and that by the midsummer of 1918 they ought to be in a position to give material aid to the Allies. The improvement since his visit four weeks previously was most marked.

It became known on March 7 that the American expeditionary force, before undertaking its first campaign, was to be organized into army corps consisting of six divisions each on the basis of the three-line method of trench warfare evolved in France, and that three or more army corps would constitute a field army. In addition to the six infantry divisions, each corps commander would have under him about 30,000 men known as corps troops, comprising artillery units, engineers, and all types of service battalions for work on the communication lines.

Negotiations between the United States and Spanish Governments were concluded by the ratification on March 8 of an agreement under which General Pershing is to obtain army supplies from Spain.

The Secretary of War Visits France

NEWTON D. BAKER, Secretary of War, with a staff of seven persons, arrived in France on March 10 on an American armored cruiser. The visit was undertaken at his own desire and with the approval of President Wilson. Mr. Baker was accompanied by Major Gen. William N. Black, Chief of Engineers of the Army; Lieut. Col. M. L. Brett, and Ralph Hayes, private secretary. During his absence the affairs of the War Department were handled by Benedict Crowell, the Assistant Secretary of War, with Major Gen. Peyton C. March as Acting Chief of Staff.

In Paris, where he arrived on March 11, Mr. Baker was received by General

Pershing, General Bliss, French officers representing Premier Clemenceau, and Ambassador Sharp. French opinion, as expressed by the press, was enthusiastic over the visit of the American War Secretary. In the statement he gave out for publication, Mr. Baker said:

Our purpose in visiting France is to confer with General Pershing, to visit the American expeditionary force, and inspect its lines of transportation and its storage and supply systems, in order that we in America can more effectively support our own army and the armies of our allies.

Of course, any visit to France at this time is a pilgrimage to the very shrine of heroism, and it will be an inspiration actually to see the great commanders and the armies which have so long held the frontiers of freedom against all attacks.

In America, as in France, we have a civilian Secretary of War, and civil power is supreme. That is one of the characteristics of the free institutions which we are fighting to maintain.

Civil power must bring up the supplies of organized industrial resources and support its armies. In America now the dominant thought in all minds is war. Industry is organized and supplies are beginning to be produced in a satisfactory quantity. War materials are accumulating and a great army is completing its training to join the force already here.

There can be but one result when the forces of civilization in great countries like those now allied are combined to

defend the vital principles of liberty. Our President has nobly phrased the spirit in which America entered the war, and his subsequent declarations reflect the feeling of the entire country that we are committed with all our resources to the winning of the war.

The American troops in the camps were delighted when they heard the news of Mr. Baker's arrival, because he would be able to see for himself the progress they had made and also discover on the spot deficiencies and requirements with which it was difficult to become acquainted in Washington.

Vast Supply Centres for Pershing's Army Behind the Lines in France

BEHIND the American Army in France there has been steadily growing up an organization which may almost be likened to that of a vast colonial enterprise, including the building of docks, warehouses, railroads, plants, and dwelling places, all for the purpose of supplying the men at the front with war material and catering to their physical needs. All this work is being done by Americans and nearly everything required has been sent from America. In one French port alone the American docks are costing millions of dollars. Over \$15,000,000 has already been spent on railroad construction, and it is now [March, 1918] possible to travel nearly 100 miles from the French coast on an American railroad.

Remarkable progress has been made by the American engineers in building warehouses and ordnance depots, despite the difficulties of transporting all the materials from America. The advance regulating station has nineteen warehouses completed, with a capacity of 5,000 tons each, to supply an army of 1,000,000 men. All this work, including the construction of the ordnance depot, railroad tracks, and barracks for several thousand men, has been completed since October, 1917.

Two intermediate stations can feed the same number. One has a refrigerating plant almost ready to hold 5,000 tons of

meat and to manufacture 500 tons of ice daily.

There is a camouflage studio, where a number of American and French artists are employed to supply the army with imitation forest screens for the communicating roads at the front, and coverings for guns and artillery bases. Another depot has a salvage plant, repairing 2,000 garments and 200 pairs of shoes daily. Several thousand men are employed in construction work at the various American depots. A total of 125 miles of tracks has been laid to the depots.

The various functions of the system of storage, transportation, and distribution of the hundred and one kinds of supplies are localized in three towns or cities situated respectively at the three corners of a triangle, and near enough to the training camps and front so that supplies can reach the furthest points in twenty-four hours.

GREAT ARMY BAKERIES

No link in the chain between "a port in France" and the American front is, perhaps, more interesting than the bakeries. When the troops began to arrive last Summer it was announced that they would be the first soldiers in Europe to receive white bread. For a time the troops, however, had to eat the dark French bread, until bakeries could be

established. Then, when a few field ovens had been set up a short distance behind the camping-training line, the men began to get their pure white bread. But the output required for the first arrivals was relatively small, and imposed few difficulties either on the bakers or on transportation.

Not only has all that changed, but the task of supplying the American troops in France with white bread has become a genuine industry, which is growing all the time. The few bakers originally have grown into companies, the relatively small daily quantity of bread turned out in July, 1917, has increased to scores of thousands of pounds, and entire shiploads of flour are arriving weekly and are being stored away in warehouses with capacity of millions of pounds, as a reserve against the arrival of still more troops.

The site originally chosen for the baking industry was selected by those who foresaw that it soon would develop to large proportions. The American Army first took possession of a huge bakery in a central French city, formerly operated by a German, and having a capacity for storing 1,500,000 pounds of flour, in addition to a not inconsiderable daily output of bread from its cake ovens. For the moment this establishment was more than ample for the needs of the first troops, but those making the arrangements knew that the time would soon come when the city bakery would be inadequate. So they went outside of the city and leased from the French a tract of land consisting of several thousand acres, upon which the conventional military wooden shacks soon sprang up and where there is room for an indefinite number of additional field bakeries, as the need may arise. By the time the city bakery had reached its capacity, the shacks were fully equipped with the very latest in baking machinery, while alongside of each building where are operated the mixing and kneading troughs there had been installed rows upon rows of field ovens that open conveniently a few feet from side entrances to the shacks, so that the kneaded loaves may be passed directly into place over the fire.

BAKING BY WOOD FIRE

The American authorities early foresaw probable difficulties in procuring a steady supply of coal, and decided from the outset to use only wood, for which the ovens were accordingly arranged. A large detachment of engineers was assigned to assist the bakers, and now furnishes a daily carload of wood for each of the baking companies. Additional engineers have arrived as fast as have been needed, and the reserve supply of wood on hand makes the plateau-like baking camp resemble a felled forest.

One of the first concerns of the officers in charge of the bakery was to provide railroad facilities, and to this end spur tracks have been constructed out to the field from the city. Over these tracks whole carloads of bread leave each morning and afternoon for the training camps and the front.

Each baking company, though supposed only to have an output of 30,000 pounds a day, for some time has been turning out from 33,000 to 35,000 pounds. The men, 101 in the company, work in two twelve-hour shifts, alternating week by week in day and night work. Their product, chiefly great, round, hard-crust-ed loaves, constitutes about forty separate shipments that are made daily by train, motor truck, and horse-drawn vehicles. The loaves are very hard on the outside to protect the bread as it is transported, but are soft inside. No soldier's bread is more than twenty-four, in rare instances thirty-six, hours old when he gets it. The bread is supplemented by biscuits and rolls to vary the monotony at breakfast and supper. All the product of the bakery is made as in ordinary times at home, except that sugar, one and a quarter pounds to 100 pounds of flour, is now omitted. The ingredients are flour, water, salt, and yeast. Shipments of these ingredients are arriving very regularly and satisfactorily.

In the city itself the Americans found one of the largest refrigerating and meat storage warehouses in France, and absorbed it last July, even though it was then many times larger than their needs. Its capacity is close to 2,000,000 pounds,

and while at times it has been full or nearly full, the supply is never permitted to fall below 500,000 pounds. There are more than 600,000 pounds there now. Direct railroad lines lead not only from the bakery and the refrigerating plant to the camps, but also from the seaports and the city, so that there is a constant flow of material into town as well as out.

Several miles westward, at the lower apex of the triangle, lies another French town which has all but bodily been taken over by the Americans as a storage centre. Here everything that comes under the head of nonperishable foods—canned goods, salt, sugar, vegetables, other than those bought fresh from the French peasants—is stored in huge quantities against the time of need.

One of the largest buildings which the Americans have taken over is devoted to equipment. Here are stored thousands upon thousands of uniforms and every article of clothing from shoes and caps down to buttons and handkerchiefs. The supply is not only large enough to meet all the re-equipment needs of the troops, estimated at several pairs of shoes a year and three or four uniforms, but to outfit all the newcomers who may arrive.

The bakery and cold storage plants at one apex of the triangle and the storage houses for clothing and nonperishable goods at another apex are all permanent sources of supply, where materials and goods come in huge quantities and whence they leave in bulk. At the third and upper apex is the "separator," into which everything flows, where it is split up and parceled out, and from which it is sent in large and small lots, according to the needs of this or that camp. Here a complicated organization has grown up which, with endless freight cars, motor trucks and horse-drawn vehicles at its disposal, seizes the bulk goods as they arrive, divides them into the requisite shipments, and is responsible for their arrival at camp behind the front.

The men who are doing all this work have long hours—none of them is on duty less than twelve hours and most of them work longer—and what they do lacks the zest of the spectacular without being entirely free from the dangerous features of warfare. Minus the popular acclaim which the fighting soldier gets, they are steadily and earnestly making the latter's task possible, and in their own way doing their share to win the war.

Providing Pershing's Army With Battleplanes

Secretary Baker's Report of Progress

WIDE attention was attracted by a dispatch, dated Feb. 20, 1918, from The Associated Press correspondent with the American Army in France, stating that control of the air in the American sector was at that time held by the Germans. The dispatch, as passed by the censor, said:

German airplanes come and go over the American lines almost at will. The chance of hitting an airplane with anti-aircraft shells is so remote that the enemy aviators calmly fly along as if on a pleasure tour. They take pictures, make observations, and do virtually whatever else they desire. It would be possible to carry quotations from virtually every officer at the front, urging a speedy appearance of large numbers of American airplanes with American pilots.

There is only one way to wrest control of the air from the enemy—that is to fight him for it in the sky and to relieve him of it by force of overwhelming numbers.

Any officer will say that the safety of individual soldiers depends upon keeping the enemy from doing as he pleases overhead. For days the Germans have been flying over some towns where American troops have been resting after periods in the trenches. Once or twice these daylight observation tours have been followed the same night by visits by enemy bombing planes. So free and unrestricted are the German airmen that in some towns the commands are under strict orders to disappear under cover the moment a German airplane is sighted. Moreover, officers say, more and more German airplanes are appearing in the sky, and in various quarters there is a growing belief that these are the first of

the machines which the Germans have been building to offset the large number of expected American airplanes in accordance with plans announced in the United States. Whether this belief is true or not, the fact remains that American troops are holding the sector and are endangered daily because there are no American airplanes with them. The question most asked from one end of the American front to the other is: "When are some American planes coming here?"

SECRETARY BAKER'S SUMMARY

Just before this dispatch was received, Mr. Baker, the Secretary of War, announced that the first American-built battleplanes were en route to the front in France. In the course of an important statement Mr. Baker summarized the story of America's efforts in aircraft production:

This first shipment, though in itself not large, marks the final overcoming of many difficulties met in building up this new and intricate industry.

These planes are equipped with the first Liberty motor from machine production. One of them in a recent test surpassed all records for speed and climbing for planes of that type.

Engine production, which began a month ago, is now on a quantity basis, and the peak of production will be reached in a few weeks. Only the twelve-cylinder type is being made, as developments abroad have made it wise to concentrate on the high-powered engine instead of the eight-cylinder.

These statements should not be exaggerated, but should be considered in the light of the following facts: After three years of warfare the total number of planes able to take the air at any one time on either side of the western front has not been over 2,500. This, combined with the fact that forty-six men are required on the ground for every plane in the air, gives a truer perspective of the European aviation situation than commonly possessed.

For every plane in the air there must be two replacement planes on the ground, and one training plane for every pilot who eventually reaches the front, with a spare engine for each plane. Moreover, while the American program has been delayed by difficulties which were impossible to foresee when the tentative program was adopted in all our lack of knowledge last Spring, it may be said that American planes are not due in France under the original schedule until July.

At the outbreak of war, the first step, both in sequence and importance, was to build up an industry to rush out the

training planes needed for the prospective aviators who were immediately on hand. This fresh and most promising personnel afforded indeed America's largest immediate source of aid to her associate nations in the war, which, while well able to turn out the latest type of airplanes, were seriously drained of men capable of manning them. The ultimate goal, however, was the construction of a large fleet of battleplanes.

Serious Problems Solved

Two serious problems, interwoven and reacting, were immediately met, the almost total lack both of airplane industry and of airplane engineering knowledge. The industry was rudimentary, with only one company on an appreciable production basis and another dozen small experimental companies. The metal work was mostly done by hand, each machine built as a separate unit, and little attempt made to manufacture from dies, jigs, or gauges. The estimates of the total value of the industry vary from \$2,000,000 to \$10,000,000 and of employes from 5,000 to 10,000. The Government was practically the only purchaser, having ordered 306 planes the year before the war, of which only sixty-six were actually delivered.

The engineering problems were even more complex. Europe, at war with the best engineers of each country pitted against each other in a struggle which knew no close, had worked out the most ingenious developments in the light of actual fighting experience. Information reaching here was generally fragmentary and always late. As a result, when war came, the United States had practically no airplane engineering staff and no modern fighting planes.

Construction of planes presented a much more complex problem than that of engines, which had been developed and produced here for other purposes on a colossal scale. The extreme refinement of their manufacture, requiring 23,000 screws in a single fighter, or 700 pieces of wood in a single wing, necessitated the most expert workmanship and balance to secure the essential combination of lightness with strength, and seemed to militate against quantity production.

New Ideas From Europe

The first step was to secure information from Europe. A commission was early sent across and rushed back the last minute details, upon the strength of which a large number of fighting planes of a certain type were ordered. The raw materials were very largely in hand and the drawings within several days of completion, when another cable said that this type had been superseded and should not be built. Nearly a month was thus

lost. Drawings then came for another type. They had just been redrawn for American manufacture and the diemakers put to work when a second and different set arrived. The work had to be cast aside and the process begun over again. Just as it was nearing completion, still a third set of drawings arrived and a third start was necessary. The unavoidable loss of time was preferred to turning out a design known at the outset to be out of date.

The effect of separation from the battlefields by 3,000 miles is further shown in that anywhere from seventeen days to eleven weeks have been required to secure various important samples from abroad. Another three weeks of day and night work is necessary to reduce the samples to drawings for American manufacture. It is significant of the rapid development of the art of aviation that not a single type of the original schedule has survived into the present program.

During the last months, however, a responsive channel of communication with the Allies has been opened, the latest types adapted to American manufacture, the industry increased at least twenty-fold, the training plane problem solved, and the production of battleplanes begun. It is still very necessary, however, to view America's effort in aviation against the true perspective, both in this country and in Europe.

The great problem now remaining is to secure the thousands of skilled mechanics, engine men, motor repair men, wood and metal workers, &c., needed to keep the planes always in perfect condition.

This great engineering and mechanical force at the airdromes, the flying fields, and the repair depots, both here and behind the line in France, is a vital industrial link in the chain to air supremacy. Without them the planes turned out would soon be useless and the fliers helpless.

At best the life of a plane is but two months, and the engines must be overhauled after seventy-five hours, while a pilot on a plane allowed to leave the hangars in imperfect condition is as helpless as a bird with a broken wing. Now that American battleplanes are going overseas, a great increase in the volunteering of skilled mechanics is both essential and expected.

On being questioned regarding the report that German airplanes were in control over the American lines in France, Mr. Baker said: "We are in close touch with the situation, and it is only fair to assume that the American aviation program is being pressed forward as rapidly as possible." Mr. Baker refused to deny or confirm the statements contained in the dispatch.

General Pershing already has the services of a considerable contingent of experienced airmen. All the "aces" and other leading American members of what was known as the Lafayette Escadrille, composed of American fliers who until recently served under the French Army, have been commissioned for service in the American Army.

Military Preparations at Home

THE month ended March 20 brought visible progress in improving the organization of the new American armies. With the appointment of two additional Assistant Secretaries of War, by authority of an act of Congress, the personnel of Mr. Baker's staff now consists of:

BENEDICT CROWELL of Ohio, the present Assistant Secretary of War, Administrative Director of the War Department, who has relieved the Secretary of War of a large amount of his administrative duties and who acted as Secretary of War in the absence of Secretary Baker in Europe.

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS of New York, Assistant Secretary of War in charge of all industrial work and all purchasing for the army.

RAYMOND B. FOSDICK of New York, Assistant Secretary of War in charge of all nonmilitary work pertaining to soldiers, such as training camp welfare work.

JOHN C. SCOFIELD of Vermont, the present Assistant Chief Clerk of the War Department, in charge of all departmental routine, including the supervision of the heavy increase in the clerical force of the War Department and the army.

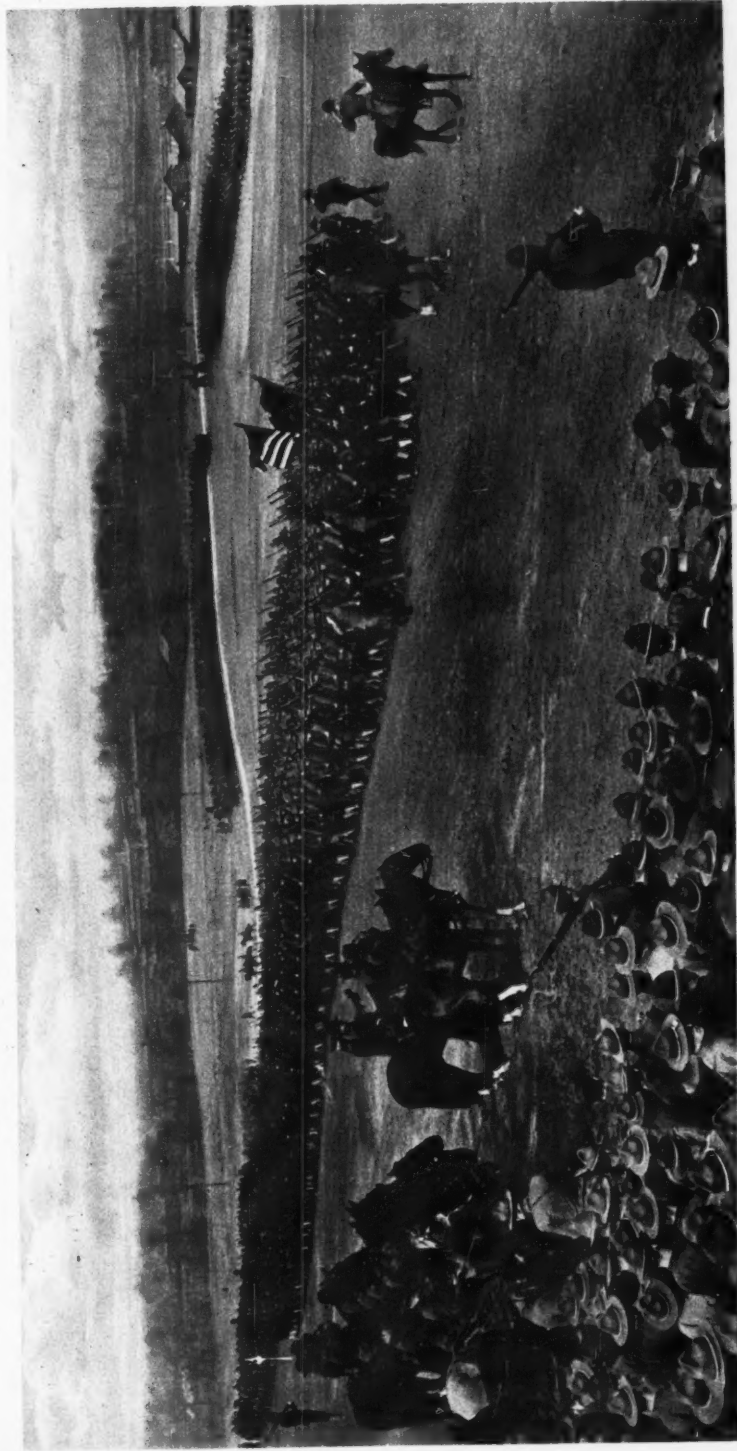
The War Council of the War Department, established by Secretary Baker on Dec. 15, 1917, was strengthened on March 8, 1918, by the addition of:

MAJOR GEN. GEORGE W. GOETHALS, the Quartermaster General of the Army;

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, and

MAJOR GEN. PEYTON C. MARCH, in place of General Bliss, who is remaining in

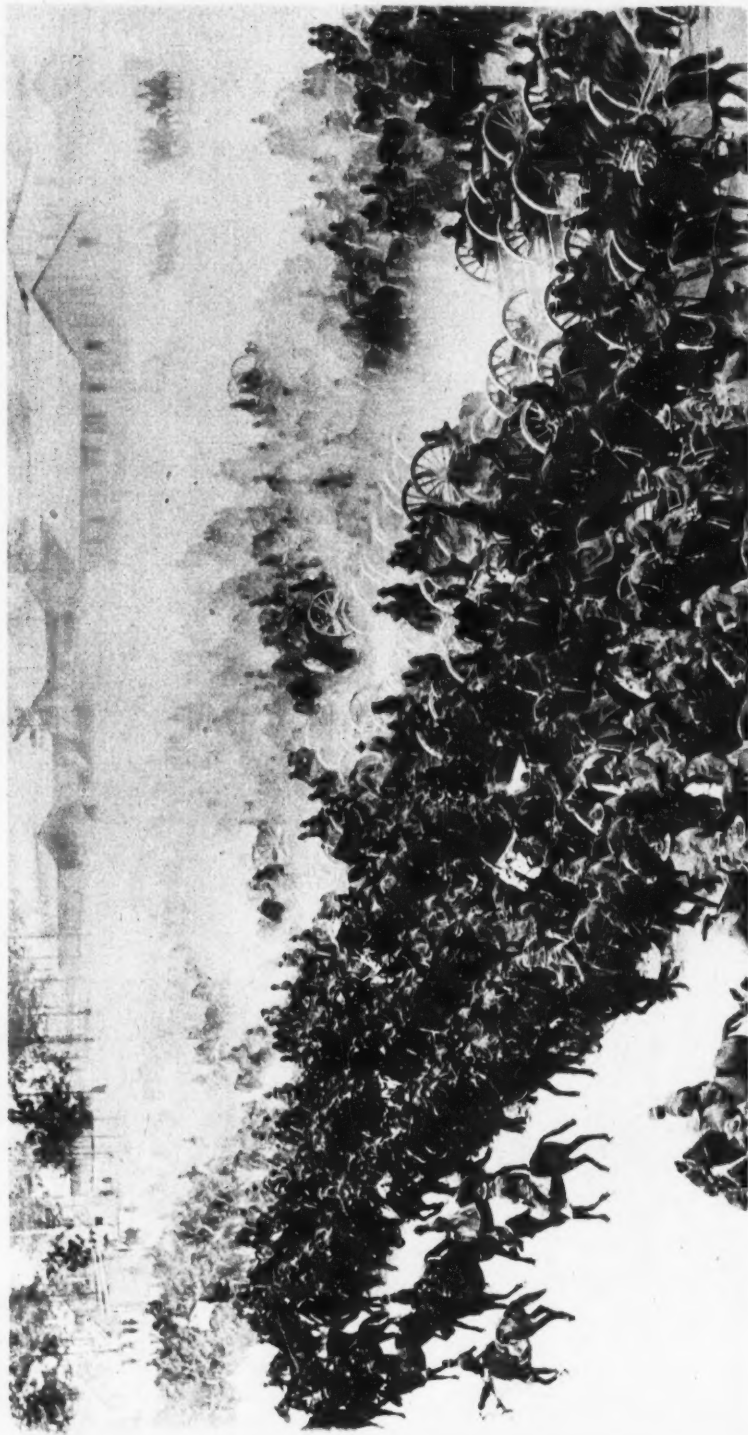
AN IMPOSING REVIEW OF UNITED STATES TROOPS



Selectmen of the National Army at Camp Gordon, Atlanta, Ga., passing in review order a group of General Staff officers.
The photograph was taken at the moment when the officers were saluting the Stars and Stripes

(© Underwood & Underwood)

AMERICAN GUNS AND THE MEN BEHIND THEM



Five thousand artillerymen with their guns assembling on the parade ground at one of the new training camps in the United States

(1) Committee on Public Information from Underwood & Underwood)

France indefinitely as a member of the Interallied War Council.

The Administration initiated a policy of taking Congress into its confidence on March 14 when Acting Secretary Crowell invited members of the Senate Military Committee to attend a session of the War Council. This was followed by a similar invitation to the House Military Committee, and it was stated that these conferences were to be held regularly. In this way the War Department met the demand of Congress for a greater share in the conduct of the war, giving members an opportunity to co-operate while policies were in the making instead of criticising afterward.

SIX MONTHS' EXPENDITURES

In a financial statement issued by the Secretary of the Treasury on Feb. 17, covering the first half of the fiscal year ended Dec. 31, 1917, it was shown that the military establishment had expended \$1,762,000,000 in six months, as compared with estimates of War Department heads that expenses for the entire year ending June 30, 1918, would be \$8,790,000,000. Although the rate of expenditures thus shown was far under the early estimates, the Treasury statement indicated a rapidly increasing outlay, the month of November accounting for \$387,000,000, whereas December figures amounted to \$450,000,000.

Voluntary enlistments in the regular army after April 1, 1917, reached 389,685 on March 14, 1918. This was more than double the authorized war strength of the regular army.

Reclassification according to physical condition of the men to be called in the second draft for the national army was required in revised instructions issued on March 7 to Medical Advisory Boards. It was provided that every man summoned should be placed in one of the following classes: (A) Acceptable for general military service; (B) Acceptable for general military service after being cured of remediable defect; (C) Acceptable for special or limited military service in a specified capacity or occupation; (D) Rejected and exempted from any military service.

Plans for the division of the United

States into munition districts to bring about decentralization and closer contact with the manufacturers of munitions were announced on March 10 by General Wheeler, Acting Chief of Ordnance. The country was divided into ten zones, with district headquarters at New York City, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Rochester, Boston, New Haven, Detroit, Cincinnati, and Chicago. In each of these cities a leading business man was selected as District Chief of the Production Division of the Ordnance Department. Colonel Guy E. Tripp of New York, ex-Chairman of the Westinghouse Company, and now Chief of the Production Division of the Ordnance Department, worked out the details of the plan. General W. S. Peirce, head of the bureau in which is the Finance Division of the Ordnance Department, and Colonel B. W. Dunn, head of the Inspection Division, arranged to follow the same decentralization plan and to have their field forces in the same district headquarters as the Production Department. Colonel Samuel McRoberts, formerly Vice President and Executive Manager of the National City Bank, who is now at the head of the Procurement Division of the Ordnance Department, is also co-operating with the district officers.

NEW MACHINE GUNS

The much-discussed Browning automatic machine guns, light and heavy, which have been adopted for the American Army, were publicly demonstrated and tested on Feb. 27. Before 300 persons, including British, French, Italian, and Belgian Army officers, Members of Congress, and about fifty newspaper men, the tests were conducted on the Government rifle range at Congress Heights, southeast of Washington. After the demonstration every spectator was impressed with the success achieved by the weapons.

The light Browning rifle weighs only fifteen pounds. The heavy gun weighs thirty-four and one-half pounds. Both guns fire the same ammunition that the American forces in France are using in the Springfields and modified Enfields—the rimless .30 calibre, cupro nickel jack-

eted bullets, which have a pressure of 50,000 pounds to the square inch when fired. The ammunition is interchangeable for all four weapons, the Springfield, the modified Enfield, the light Browning automatic rifle, and the heavy Browning machine gun.

The light Browning rifle, demonstrated in the hands of ten enlisted men of the army, is officially described as "the Browning machine rifle, model of 1918, air-cooled," and is the authorized lightweight machine gun of the United States Army. It may be fired from the shoulder or hip, in bursts of twenty shots, or by single shots. It is both semi-automatic and fully automatic, that is, the soldier by pressing a lever on the side of the weapon may have it shoot continuously or semi-automatically, or in single shots. In the hands of the ten enlisted men advancing across the range during the public test, firing at dummy targets, the light Browning rifle fired twenty continuous shots in $2\frac{1}{2}$ seconds. These shots are carried in cartridge magazines, which are attached beneath the gun just forward of the trigger, and can be changed by the rifleman in $2\frac{1}{2}$ seconds. Advancing behind each rifleman was another enlisted man carrying the reserve supply of ammunition, which was handed to the riflemen in magazines each containing twenty shots.

The Browning heavy machine gun is also of 1918 model and water-cooled. This gun is fed from a belt of 250 rounds of cartridges. Its features are endurance and simplicity of mechanism, rendering manufacture easy. In the official Government test this gun fired 39,500 shots without a break. At another test 20,000 shots were fired in forty-eight minutes, eighteen seconds, without malfunction and only three stoppages, each due to a defective cartridge. This gun weighs only thirty-four and one-half pounds with the water jacket around the barrel filled. It operates from a tripod and is effective for overhead, indirect, barrage, and defensive fire.

Both guns are being manufactured by machine process, and will reach the peak of production on a large quantity basis by June, when several thousand guns

of each type will be turned out weekly. It is the intention of the War Department to get both types of weapons to the fighting fronts as rapidly as they can be transported for use by General Pershing's men.

RIFLES IN LARGE QUANTITIES

In regard to rifles, it was reported on Feb. 22 that the Ordnance Department was producing the new Enfields in such quantities that all camps and cantonments had been supplied and full reserves had been provided. In addition a reserve stock of slightly more than 100,000 modified Enfields was stored in arsenals and depots. The Ordnance Department was now obtaining these rifles at the rate of about 250,000 a month.

A summary of the reorganization of the Quartermaster Corps effected by Major Gen. Goethals, issued on Feb. 21, showed that radical changes had been made to insure greater efficiency in the supply of food and clothing for the army and especially the forces in France. A series of embarkation storehouses have been established at the ports of departure, where vast quantities of foodstuffs are kept constantly in stock. A new element of organization is the outfitting of troops bound overseas at special camps maintained for that purpose. Heretofore they were outfitted at their training camps. Some interesting figures were given in the summary. The total food bill of the army since the war began is \$193,000,000. Through the remount division \$55,000,000 already has been spent since last April to obtain 289,352 animals. The motors division now totals more than 22,000 vehicles, as against 3,200 when the war began. More than 15,000,000 shoes were on hand and due on contracts, with another million necessary before the end of 1918.

MEDICAL RESERVE CORPS

Surgeon Gen. Gorgas announced on Feb. 26 that during the interval elapsing from the declaration of war up to Feb. 23 he had discharged 1,050 officers of the Medical Reserve Corps for various reasons, including physical disability, inaptitude for service, and to take up

other professional work. During the same period there were 2,265 promotions of medical reserve officers, including some officers promoted more than once. The discharges were in addition to about 4,000 rejections of applicants, 21,740 having been accepted and recommended to the Adjutant General's office for commissions, and of these 13,687 were on active duty on Feb. 23. The total strength of the Medical Corps on that date was as follows:

Regular Army Medical Corps.....	768
Medical Reserve Corps.....	13,687
Medical Corps, National Guard.....	1,207
Medical Corps, National Army.....	32

Total15,694

At the outbreak of the war there were 877 medical officers, 490 regulars and 387 reserve officers, on active duty.

Friction between the Army Medical Corps and high officers of the line came to an open break March 15 when Surgeon Gen. William Gorgas appealed to Congress, over the heads of his departmental superiors, for help in obtaining compliance with recommendations of the Medical Corps designed to safeguard the army's health. The question at issue was whether the Medical Corps should receive higher rank, in order that its recommendations might be received with consideration by line officers. That this might be accomplished, General Gorgas urged the Senate Military Affairs Committee to report favorably the Owen bill, putting men of the Medical Reserve Corps upon an equal plane with the Navy Medical Corps as to rank. This would permit army medical men to attain higher rank than that of Major, the present limit for Reserve Corps men.

Recommendations by Major Gen. Charles G. Treat, commanding the 37th National Guard Division, that the death penalty be imposed to check desertions and to bring soldiers to a realization of the gravity of that offense were disapproved by Secretary Baker, it was announced on Feb. 27. General Treat based his recommendation on the number of desertions from his command. Mr. Baker, however, instructed the Adjutant General to issue a bulletin to the army pointing out the seriousness with which de-

sertions must be regarded in time of war. The Secretary acted on an opinion by the Judge Advocate General, which held that there is a clearly drawn difference between desertion from training camps in this country and desertions in the zone of hostilities.

DECORATIONS FOR BRAVERY

Announcement was made by the War Department on March 6 that President Wilson had authorized four new decorations for bravery, service, or wounds in the war against Germany, as follows:

First—The Distinguished Service Cross.

Second—The Distinguished Service Medal.

Third—War service chevrons.

Fourth—Wound chevrons.

The first and second medals will be awarded to women as well as men.

The Distinguished Service Cross will be a bronze cross with a ribbon, to be awarded to any person serving with the army for extraordinary heroism in connection with military operations which do not justify the award of the medal of honor.

The Distinguished Service Medal will also be of bronze, with a ribbon, and will be awarded for exceptionally meritorious service to the Government in a duty of great responsibility in time of war in connection with military operations.

The war service chevrons will consist of a gold chevron of standard material and design, to be worn on the lower half of the left sleeve of all uniform coats, except fatigue coats, by each officer and enlisted man who has served six months in the zone of the advance in the war, and an additional chevron for each additional six months of similar service thereafter.

The wound chevron is a gold chevron of pattern identical with that of the war service chevron, to be worn on the lower half of the right sleeve of all uniform coats, except fatigue coats, by each officer and enlisted man who has received a wound in action with the enemy that necessitates treatment by a medical officer, and an additional chevron for each additional wound. Disablement by gas necessitating treatment by a medical officer is to be considered as a wound.

RAILROAD CONTROL BILL

The law under which the United States Government will control and operate all the railroads of the country for the duration of the war was passed by Congress on March 14, 1918, and sent to the President to be signed. Among its chief provisions are these: Government control of the roads shall not continue more than twenty-one months after the war; there is an appropriation of \$500,000,000 for a revolving fund; the short lines are included within the Federal system, and compensation of the railroads is provided for on the basis of their average net income for the three years ended June 30, 1917, amounting approximately to \$945,000,000 annually. The bill also provides that the State power of taxation of carriers shall be undisturbed, and that the Interstate Commerce Commission shall be the final arbiter of rates, in the fixing of which

increases in expenses due to the war are to be taken into consideration.

Following the passing of the bill, plans for the future organization of the Government Railroad Administration were discussed the same night at a conference between President Wilson and Mr. McAdoo, Director General of Railroads. One of the first tasks is making contracts with each railroad company for Government compensation on the basis provided in the bill. The contracts are to be negotiated under the direction of John Barton Payne, chief counsel; John Skelton Williams, Finance Director, and C. A. Prouty, Chief of the Division of Accounts. The railroads have been ordered by Director General McAdoo to make an inventory of materials and supplies on hand Dec. 31, 1917, when private control ceased, for use in connection with Government administration of purchases, additions and betterments, and railroad financing.

Our Soldiers Insured for \$12,000,000,000

Nearly All Have \$10,000 Policies

[The appended summary of the work of the War Risk Board is based on a recent study by Lawrence Priddy, President of the National Association of Life Underwriters]

THE act creating this insurance was passed by Congress and approved by the President Oct. 6, 1917, makes three separate and distinct provisions for those in active military service:

1. Family allowances and compulsory savings.
2. Compensation for death and disability.
3. Optional life insurance. (Meaning that, in addition to the benefits provided under the first two headings, those who desire may purchase additional life and disability insurance.) The insurance to be issued on the yearly renewable term plan.

The act provided that any person then in the military service would be insured automatically against death and permanent disability for the sum of approximately \$5,000, provided he had a wife, child, or widowed mother. Persons joining the service after that have the privilege of applying for the insurance within 120 days after enlistment. The automatic feature expired Feb. 12.

At the time of the passage of this act those representatives of the Government who were particularly instrumental in promoting the measure believed that with the passage of the bill there would be a tremendous demand for this insurance, but it was early discovered that the demand had to be created; that "life insurance is sold and not bought," and this notwithstanding the fact that the guarantee back of the contract is the United States Government itself, and that it is offered at a cost to the insured of about one-tenth of what it will cost to provide the insurance.

For example, the Government offers to insure all applicants (up to \$10,000) at age 20 for \$7.68 per \$1,000 per annum. (Most of the Government premiums are payable monthly.) At age 30 the Government rate is only \$8.28 per \$1,000.

The Government policy also furnishes

disability insurance in addition to life insurance. The rates for four ages are:

Age.	Govt. Rate.	Age.	Govt. Rate.
20.....	\$7.68	40.....	\$9.72
30.....	8.28	50.....	13.68

While the premium paid by the soldier is very small, it is believed that the cost to the Government for those soldiers who take part in actual warfare will be about \$80 per thousand per annum.

The preliminary campaigns to induce the soldiers to take out insurance were not entirely successful, so on Dec. 29 the Secretary of the Treasury summoned to Washington a group of practical insurance men. That group was told that it was the earnest desire of the Secretary of the Treasury and others in charge of the administration of this measure that the benefits of this insurance should be clearly and forcefully presented to all soldiers and sailors then in the service, and this group was asked to arrange a campaign for the sale of this insurance.

The responsibility for this campaign was vested in a smaller group, known as the Soldiers' and Sailors' Campaign Council, and they spent about ten days

investigating what had been done, how it had been done, and in planning a selling campaign to be conducted with more or less uniformity at all military and naval stations, and this campaign was launched Jan. 12. Up to that time there had been received at the Bureau of War Risk Insurance 427,811 applications for a total of \$3,633,213,000, (an average of \$8,493 per person.)

The records indicate that the work done was highly successful, for at the close of the campaign, Feb. 12, there had been actually received at the bureau 1,123,749 applications for a total of \$9,189,156,500 insurance, and on March 6 the applications received or in transit totaled more than \$12,000,000,000, covering 1,500,000 persons in the military and naval service.

In many of the units of the various camps every man has purchased the full ten thousand; there are eight camps in which 99 per cent. of the men are insured by the Government, and on Feb. 28 more than 90 per cent. of all the men in the service had availed themselves of this privilege. The average policy on the lives of our soldiers was \$9,186.

War Activities of the United States Navy

Address by Franklin D. Roosevelt

Assistant Secretary of the Navy

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, in a recent address to the Harvard Alumni Association, threw some new light on the work of the United States Navy in European waters. He said in part:

THERE are two present phases of naval warfare, the first being the anti-submarine defense and second the battleship fleet. We sent a few destroyers in April, 1917, and kept sending more during the following months. These destroyers operated in certain localities on the other side, and charts plotted to show the sinkings by submarines proved an immediate falling off in the number of sinkings in these zones. The difficulty is that the ocean is altogether too large to cover as a whole with anti-submarine craft.

As a matter of fact, sinkings are still

going on in very great numbers. Those sinkings are almost wholly confined to a small area within a short distance of land. You would think the Allies would be able to control this area, but we have not one-tenth the amount of equipment necessary to patrol all the waters close to shore, let alone further out. The reason submarines go close to shore is because there they find a concentration of ships, as almost day and night a continuous procession of merchant ships go up and out of the English Channel, Irish Channel, &c.

It is quite a mistaken notion to think

that the English Channel is closed to submarines or that all the submarines have their base on the Belgian coast. Only some of the older and smaller submarines and mine layers are there, the majority of the larger ones coming out from Wilhelmshaven, which is on the North Sea side of the canal, or from Kiel, on the Baltic side.

We are making as good a contribution as we can toward the increase of patrols. We are building a great number of destroyers, which we hope to have completed in from ten to sixteen months. That seems a long time, but under the 1916 program the best bid for completion was twenty-five months, and getting down to ten, or even sixteen, months is quite an achievement. In addition to the destroyers, we are turning out other types. We have turned out a type of vessel which has taken the officers by surprise. This is called the 110-foot patrol boat. It is very interesting, built of wood and propelled by gasoline. A great number of these boats have been placed in commission already, and on their sea trips they seem to have excellent sea-keeping qualities.

In fighting the submarine the depth charge is very useful and effective. These charges have a small piece of mechanism which is set, and when the bomb has descended to a given depth it will explode; it can be set to explode at any depth. The first depth charges were those of fifty pounds, and they would hurt a submarine only if they went off almost in actual contact. The result was that they had to be increased in size, and now the depth charges weigh much more than fifty pounds, and their area of destruction is large. One interesting feature of increasing the size of depth charges was that we had to increase the speed of the ship to protect the ship itself.

Much work has also been done on other devices that we may not talk about. Experimentation is going on, and will increase if the war lasts, and it will in the end prove an effective answer to the submarine. The answer to the submarine is being carried today by building as many vessels against them as can possibly be

built, and, second, by building all the merchant tonnage we can and arming that merchant tonnage.

We are apt to forget that over on the other side the control of the surface of the ocean has been absolutely maintained by the existence of the British battleship fleet. There have been a few raids on the coast of England, and a few engagements in the North Sea, but today the relative strength of the British Navy is at least as great against the German Navy as at the outbreak of the war. Furthermore, they have the active co-operation of the French and American surface ships of heavy tonnage. We have, of course, many battleships on this coast that little is heard about. We have had to use the oldest ones largely as training schools, especially for the training of the gun crews of the merchant ships.

We have already armed over 1,000 merchant ships with fairly heavy guns. There have been few, and there will be fewer, cases of American ships being successfully shelled and put out of action by the submarine. We learned the lesson from the English.

As to surface control no one is worried. The British, with the assistance of the Americans, have successfully bottled up the Germans in the North Sea. It is a pity to have to hold them on defensive terms only. There are many who believe in the dictum that a defensive policy on the sea leads to defeat, and the rôle of the British battleship fleet has been considered by many to be purely defensive. However, authorities like Mahan and others have always maintained that an offensive can consist of two methods of war; first, to seek the enemy and destroy him in his own 'rat hole'; secondly, so to place yourself about the 'mouth of the rat hole' that the rat cannot come out. That is practically what has happened. The Germans are free at any time to come out with their battleship fleet, and very often they do come out, but for a very short distance. The stories we read from Berlin that the Germans came out for three days, &c., are true, but they have always kept conveniently close to their hiding place.

So ready is the British fleet that it is said that on one occasion they had given shore liberty to many hundreds of men; then word came that the German

fleet was out and might be cut off, and within twenty-two minutes the British fleet was ready and on the way to the scene of action.

Shipbuilding Difficulties Overcome

Mr. Hurley's Report of Progress

THE shipbuilding program adopted by the United States as an urgent war measure encountered many obstacles, including those due to the worst Winter in the recorded history of the Eastern United States. The Spring of 1918, however, has found definite results accomplished in many new shipyards that have been brought into existence since the United States entered the war.

Figures issued by the Shipping Board on March 9 showed that in February seventeen vessels of 120,700 tons were completed and put into service. The total was nearly twice that of January, admittedly a bad month, when only nine vessels, with a tonnage of 79,541, were delivered. Launchings more than kept pace with deliveries, sixteen ships of 112,500 tons being put into the water in January, and fifteen of 77,900 tons in February. Of the vessels completed in February, fifteen were cargo carriers, one was a tanker, and one a collier.

Summing up the situation on March 4, 1918, Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the Shipping Board, said that there were then 130 shipyards, with 700 ways and 500,000 men, occupied with the production of 1,600 ships. A Seattle shipyard had already broken all world's records by launching an 8,000-ton steel ship in sixty-four days, and yards on the Atlantic Coast were preparing to beat the Pacific Coast record.

At the Hog Island yard of the American International Shipbuilding Corporation the first keel was laid on Feb. 12, six days ahead of schedule time, and on Feb. 28, the date set for the second keel, there were ways ready for ten additional ships. A fuller account of the Hog Island shipyard, the largest in the world, will be found under a separate heading.

On March 1 it was reported that vessels were to come from the plant of the Federal Shipbuilding Company, at Kearny, N. J., six weeks ahead of the time fixed in the contract with the Government. Instead of finishing one ship every month the yard had reached a stage wherein it could finish one ship every three weeks. The Federal Shipbuilding Company was incorporated in July, 1917, by the United States Steel Corporation. At that time the 175 acres occupied by the yard went under six feet of water every time the tide came in. Now they have been built up nine feet, and twelve miles of railroad track have been laid. Five thousand men will be employed when shipbuilding is in full swing.

In a much more advanced condition in every respect is the new shipyard of the Merchants' Shipbuilding Corporation at Bristol, Penn., the second of the huge fabricating yards being built for the construction of standardized steel merchant ships. In respect to the number of ways it is the smallest of the three, for while there are to be fifty ways for building ships at Hog Island and twenty-eight ways at the yard at Port Newark, at the Bristol plant there are only twelve. The Bristol plant, however, is to build the largest ships of the three yards, freighters of 9,000 tons deadweight capacity, while 7,500-ton and 8,000-ton ships are to be built at Hog Island, and 5,000-ton vessels at Port Newark.

The shipyard of the Submarine Boat Corporation on Newark Bay, with twenty-eight shipways, has thirteen keels laid of the fifty ships of 5,000 tons which it is under contract to build before it begins work on another contract of 100 vessels of the same size.

The important question of housing the armies of workers was settled on March

1, when President Wilson signed the Emergency Fleet Corporation Housing bill, which empowers the Government to commandeer boarding houses, hotels, apartments, and even private homes near shipyards, and to build new houses wherever necessary. The bill carried an appropriation of \$50,000,000, and the Emergency Fleet Corporation has authority to extend loans to private shipyards at 5 per cent. to carry on this work. It does not, however, bear the expense of the new homes, except at Government-owned yards.

Following President Wilson's intervention in the dispute between the shipyard workers and the employers, (See *CURRENT HISTORY*, March, 1918, Page 422,) conferences were held and differences finally adjusted by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the Shipping Board. A new cause of delay, due to the attitude of labor unions, arose from the shortage of caulkers. In reply to an appeal for caulkers, William L. Hutcheson, President of the Carpenters' Brotherhood, notified the Shipping Board on March 8 that it could expect no assistance from him in speeding up ship construction until his "closed shop" demands had been granted.

The American merchant fleet was in-

creased by 399 seagoing vessels in the last six months of 1917, or an average of more than two a day. Many of the vessels were built in the United States, having been under construction for foreign account and taken over by the United States Government. Others were interned German ships, but the large steamers like the *Vaterland*, which were commandeered by the navy, were not included in the total of 399. Figures previously made public showed that more than 1,000,000 tons of shipping were added to the American merchant marine in 1917.

Speaking in the House of Commons on Feb. 13, Andrew Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, said that in 1917 there were built in Great Britain 1,163,474 tons of shipping, and 170,000 tons were obtained from abroad. The Chancellor explained that the Premier's estimate of ship construction was not realized because the Government had arranged to have a large quantity of tonnage built in America, but when America came into the war she preferred, as the British would have preferred, to take the tonnage herself, but the tonnage, he remarked, was there. The output of the United States during 1917 was 901,223 tons, making a total combined tonnage of 2,064,697 for the two countries.

Heroic Rescue by American Naval Men

The heroism and seamanship displayed by the crew of the United States destroyer *Parker* when rescuing survivors of the British hospital ship *Glenart Castle*, which was sunk in the Bristol Channel on Feb. 26, 1918, was the subject of eulogistic references in the House of Commons on March 13. According to the official report 153 persons perished in the sinking of the *Glenart Castle*.

Thomas J. Macnamara, Financial Secretary of the Admiralty, said that the Admiralty had expressed its very deep gratitude for the manner in which the Americans had dealt with this matter. He understood that the American authorities were averse to the award of

personal distinctions. Nevertheless, if the Admiralty could properly make any suggestion to them which would enable it in a substantial way to emphasize its opinion of this act of gallantry it certainly would do so. Two of the destroyer's complement deserved the greatest credit for their action in jumping overboard to effect rescues, in view of the temperature of the water, the choppy sea, and the distance of the raft from which the rescues were effected.

The Americans who jumped into the water in the course of the rescues were: J. C. Cole, quartermaster; R. E. Hosses, boatswain's mate; David Goldman, machinist's mate; Jerry Quinn, coxswain; F. W. Beeghley, yeoman; W. W.

Mathews, ship's cook; J. Newman, seaman, and T. F. Troue, seaman.

The Glenart Castle sank at 4 o'clock in the morning. The destroyer, although far distant, picked up a wireless message and hurried to the scene, where she searched the sea for survivors. The first survivor was sighted at 1 o'clock in the afternoon—a lone man on a raft. In the submarine-infested waters it was impossible for the destroyer to halt and launch boats. She threw a line to the survivor, but he was so weak that he became entangled in the line and was carried astern of the destroyer and severely cut

by her propellers. He managed to climb back on the raft.

The destroyer circled the scene and as it passed the raft again Quartermaster Cole jumped overboard, succeeded in swimming to the raft and brought the man back to the destroyer. He was a fireman, Jesse White of Southampton. He died later on board the destroyer, which continued her search, and in the course of the afternoon sighted three more groups of survivors clinging to rafts and wreckage, all of whom were similarly rescued. The survivors were landed in Wales.

The World's Greatest Shipyard

Created to Meet Demands of War

ONE of the romances of America's participation in the war is the establishment within a few months of some of the greatest shipyards in the world, one of them being actually the largest yet called into existence in any country. This is the Hog Island yard, on the Delaware River, near Philadelphia. Here, on a tract of land 860 acres in extent, the American International Shipbuilding Corporation, a subsidiary concern of the American International Corporation, has created what is virtually a city so large that it requires a water system as large as that serving Minneapolis, and as much electric power as is consumed by Providence, R. I.

The waterfront site and adjacent property which now comprise the Hog Island shipyard were acquired by the American International at \$2,000 an acre with the approval of the United States Shipping Board, and a contract was drawn up to build the yard. The American International, together with Stone & Webster, the engineering and contracting firm whose senior partner is President of that corporation, submitted an estimate of \$21,000,000 for the construction of the yard, but this was increased to \$35,000,000 after the Shipping Board decided that most of the ships to be built should be larger and speedier than originally planned in the contract.

Owing to quarrels among members of the Shipping Board and the Emergency Fleet Corporation, which necessitated drastic reorganization, the contract was not signed till Sept. 13, 1917, and a start on constructing the yard was not made till Oct. 1. Not much progress was made before the severest Winter ever recorded on the North Atlantic Coast intervened and made operations almost impossible. During this inclement weather there was one week when seven times as many new workmen were taken to the island as all the men at work, but at the end of the week the force was no larger than at the beginning. This "labor turnover" of 700 per cent. was the worst, but there were several other weeks when it amounted to 300 per cent. or more, and 100 per cent. of men quitting in a week was below the average. At last, however, by a process of the survival of the fittest, a labor force was created able to meet the demands of the corporation and carry the work to a successful conclusion.

The contract received by the American International Shipbuilding Corporation was for 120 ships, totaling 935,000 tons—50 of 7,500 tons each, with a speed of eleven knots and each costing \$1,100,000; 70 of 8,000 tons, with a speed of sixteen knots, costing \$1,600,000 each; a total for the 120 ships of \$167,000,000.

To build these 120 ships, and the additional vessels which will follow, fifty great shipways were constructed. These ways cover an unbroken space of a mile and a half, presenting a spectacle to be seen nowhere else in the world. Behind them are the ships and warehouses, and further back the barracks, where the workmen are housed, the kitchens and mess halls, hospitals, and administration buildings. The site, originally swamps and sand dunes, is now well paved, with seventy-two miles of railroad track, all lighted with electricity, so that work can be carried on by night as well as by day.

After the initial difficulties were overcome, progress was greatly accelerated, and the first keel, scheduled to be laid on Feb. 18, was actually in place six days ahead of that date. Subsequent keels have also been laid ahead of schedule time.

Some idea of the vastness of the enterprise may be gathered from the following facts and figures: Approximately 1,000 shops and factories throughout the United States, employing 350,000 men, are manufacturing the parts of the vessels which require, for example, 75,000,000 feet of lumber, 400,000 tons of steel, and 570 boilers. At Hog Island the 20,000 parts of each ship are assembled. This in turn indicates the number of freight cars required to convey the fab-

ricated parts to the yard, which is actually handling about 400 cars a day. The total of workmen when work is in full swing will number 30,000, many of them being housed in barracks on the island, and others in the new accommodations which are being rushed to completion.

Hog Island is practically a city complete in itself, with its own water, sewerage, and electric supply systems, its own fire department, its military police force, including a large mounted force and numbering several thousand; its own base hospitals, emergency hospitals, dispensaries, and dentists' offices; the whole organized, officered, and controlled as if it were an army corps, as, indeed, it is, for the sole object of co-operating in giving the United States the world's greatest merchant fleet, to make American participation in the war possible to the fullest extent, and after the war to enable the nation to secure the maritime supremacy of the world. When the American International Corporation, capitalized at the start with \$50,000,000, came into existence it declared that its purpose was to secure for America its proper share of world trade. The Hog Island enterprise, so far the corporation's greatest step toward the carrying out of its objects, is eloquent of the industrial power which the United States is able to exert in the great emergency created by the war.

Life of the Former Czar in Siberia

When delegates from all over Russia assembled at Petrograd in January, 1918, for the Constituent Assembly, (which was never held,) the member from Tobolsk, Siberia, gave a correspondent the following sketch of the daily life of the exiled Czar and his family:

The people of Tobolsk exhibited a lively curiosity regarding Nicholas II. when he first arrived there, but this gradually evaporated, and now scarcely anybody pays any attention to the former Czar of all the Russias. Nicholas II. soon accepted the routine of his new life. Every morning regularly he attends religious service at a church near his château, if one may so designate the house he occupies. On leaving the church he takes a roundabout way back to his residence. Sometimes a few curious persons follow him at a distance. At first the ex-Czar saluted the crowd; now he walks with head down and does not reply to salutations addressed to him. After service Nicholas II. saws wood, and this exercise, which he adopted while still at Tsarskoe Selo, apparently has a good effect upon his health, which seems greatly improved. The former sovereign devotes most of his afternoon to reading. He receives French and Russian books, besides a large number of newspapers. In the evening he gives lessons in history to his son. The Czarina passes a large part of her day in prayer; in the evening she converses with her friends and often plays cards.

Blockade of Germany Complete

The United States War Trade Board Stops the Flow of Supplies Through Neutral Countries

THE completion of the blockade of Germany, made possible by America's entry into the war, was disclosed in the annual report of the War Trade Board submitted to President Wilson on Feb. 24, 1918. That board, of which Vance McCormick is Chairman, is responsible for the execution of the embargo policy in regard to exports and imports and of various other measures to prevent trading with the enemy. It wields the powerful economic weapons which have made the British blockade immeasurably more effective than before America became a belligerent, completing in fact the plan of economic strangulation which the British Government had been endeavoring to carry out since the beginning of the European war.

Such supplies as the Central Powers may now be able to obtain from Russia, Rumania, and the Ukraine will mitigate the grip of the Atlantic blockade, but those countries have little to give. The blockade is still a sharp weapon, and the United States has given it its new edge. While this country has only gradually been developing as a military factor, through the War Trade Board prompt and effective steps have been taken in the field of commercial, financial, and industrial activity to make the Central Powers feel the full weight of having America as an enemy.

When the policy of temporary embargoes was adopted by the United States on July 15, 1917, Germany was obtaining from the neutral countries of Northern Europe a sufficient quantity of fats to supply a full ration to 2,500,000 men. Foodstuffs and fodder imported into those countries from the United States alone made possible such wholesale traffic. From that time onward the exports of fats from the neutral countries of Northern Europe were steadily reduced until they reached a negligible quantity, so that in February, 1918, it

was calculated that Germany had available less than a fifth of the former supply. This reduction was reflected in the steady diminution of the German fat ration and in the desperate efforts of the Central Powers to obtain supplies of fats from other sources. The total food exports from the Northern European neutrals to the Central Powers were reduced by from 65 to 85 per cent. This result was pointed to in the report as the most important obtained by the embargo policy adopted by the United States in the face of opposition on the part of neutral nations.

By using the embargo policy as a potential weapon the United States has been able to secure control for Great Britain and itself of 1,650,000 tons of shipping belonging to Norway and Sweden. On this point the report of the War Trade Board says:

In November, 1917, we became party to Great Britain's tentative agreement with Norway, as a result of which action on our part 1,400,000 tons, dead weight, of Norwegian shipping were chartered into the service of the United States and Great Britain for the period of the war.

An agreement with Sweden gives us the use for three months of tonnage estimated at 250,000 tons, dead weight, which had not theretofore been employed in service useful to us.

DUTCH SHIPS SEIZED

Holland was notified on March 14 that the United States and British Governments intended to take over all Dutch ships in their ports, to be compensated for and returned after the war; the tonnage aggregated about 600,000. For seven months Holland had delayed acceptance of a proposal from the two Governments by which that country was to be supplied with food and fuel, provided the ships lying idle were leased to the United States and Great Britain. Holland appeared willing to agree, but Germany threatened to torpedo any Dutch ships

encountered at sea if the agreement was made. As no further agreement could be negotiated with Holland, the seizure was decided upon under the international law of angary, which gives a belligerent the right to use neutral shipping in cases of emergency.

The temporary embargoes, by which the Northern European neutral nations were forced to place this shipping at the disposal of the United States and Great Britain, are being replaced by comprehensive agreements regulating trade. It was announced at Washington on Feb. 22 that a complete economic agreement with Norway had been reached, but the terms have not yet been made public. In the case of Switzerland an agreement has been concluded, assuring to the Swiss the periodic receipt of a stipulated grain ration and of other articles required to maintain the economic existence of the people of Switzerland. The Swiss Government secured this concession by giving satisfactory assurances against exportation to the Central Powers of the imported foodstuffs and other articles, and by agreeing, in certain other respects, to limit trading with the Central Powers.

The general policy of the War Trade Board is summed up in the principle of supplying the food and other vital wants of neutral peoples, under carefully considered agreements, so as "to prevent acute suffering in those countries and to prevent them from falling under the economic power of the enemy," while conserving for the United States and its associates in the war "such commodities as are required to maintain adequately the economic life of the several nations and to carry out their war programs."

The War Trade Board effects its purpose through a system of licenses covering both exports and imports, and through measures for preventing trading with the enemy. The extent of the business under the control of the board may be gathered from the fact that its Bureau of Exports has handled approximately 425,000 applications for licenses to export, and was, at the date of the report, passing upon between 4,000 and 5,000 applications per day. The Bureau

of Imports, of more recent formation, has received to Jan. 1, 5,279 applications for licenses to import, upon which 4,719 licenses, covering commodities of an aggregate value of \$237,810,949, had actually been issued.

ENEMY TRADING LIST

Trading with foreigners is regulated by an "enemy trading list," which, since its first publication in October, 1917, has been continually revised. New firms are added with which it is unlawful to trade, and firms which have cleared themselves of the taint of enemy character have been removed from the list.

The majority of firms on the "enemy trading list" are in the Latin-American countries, and, according to the report of the War Trade Board, the effect of these restrictions is already palpable.

Concurrently with the enforcement of the embargo policy against the Central Powers, the United States has rendered enormous service to the Allies by its efforts to maintain an increasing supply of foodstuffs. The Food Administration, in a statement issued on March 5, showed that from the beginning of the war to Jan. 1, 1918, the United States had shipped food sufficient to furnish a balanced ration to an average of more than 16,000,000 men yearly. In addition, there was a surplus of some 625,000 tons of protein and 268,000 tons of fats. Russia received less than 1 per cent. of the total, or only enough to feed about 10,000 men a year. Great Britain took more than half of the entire total, or enough to feed about 8,000,000 men. France was next, with enough for 4,200,000 men, and Italy sufficient for more than 2,000,000 men. The three together received an excess of protein capable of supplying this portion of the diet to some 20,000,000 additional men.

The total exports of wheat and wheat flour to Great Britain, France, and Italy was equivalent to 384,000,000 bushels, or an average of 110,000,000 bushels per year. Exports of pork and pork products totaled almost 2,000,000,000 pounds, while sugar exports to those countries showed a yearly average of

648,000,000 pounds. Oats exports for the three and one-half years totaled 212,751,000 bushels, corn 24,310,000 bushels, and rye 3,618,000 bushels. Exports of fresh beef amounted to 443,484,000 pounds in the three and one-half years, while exports of butter totaled 29,000,000 pounds, cheese 103,500,000 pounds, and condensed milk 126,000,000 pounds. Cottonseed, linseed, and other oil products and by-products to be used for feeding cattle totaled 611,000,000 pounds.

A serious food famine in the Entente countries was averted only by the rigorous measures adopted by the United States in concentrating transportation facilities and conserving food supplies for domestic consumption. In thus preventing a crisis that might have caused a breakdown in the Entente countries, the Food Administration, the War Trade Board, the Shipping Board, and the Railroads Board have all played important parts.

A Review of the U-Boat Campaign

Address by Sir Eric Geddes

First Lord of the British Admiralty

[Delivered in the House of Commons, March 5, 1918]

ON the whole, naval warfare during the last year has proceeded increasingly in our favor. It has continued chiefly to test the strength between the enemy submarine and the measures we and our allies have taken for combating that menace.

[Sir Eric stated that 30 per cent. of the losses of merchant ships was accounted for in the Mediterranean, and that conditions there had been more difficult to meet than in the Atlantic, the resources having been less adequate and success against the submarine less satisfactory.]

It became increasingly evident that as our resources improved we would be able to turn our attention more to the Mediterranean. I recently went to Rome for a meeting of the Allied Naval Committee and also inspected the naval establishments in the Mediterranean, including those of the Greek Navy. British naval officers are assisting the Greeks in the reorganization of their navy, which is already co-operating in the Mediterranean and rendering valuable service.

The meeting of the committee in Rome was representative of all the allies with naval forces in European waters. It accepted fully the anti-submarine proposals put forward by Vice Admiral Calthorpe, British Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean. It agreed we should

forthwith adopt and adapt to the Mediterranean the same measures which have given success in the waters of the British Isles, and the main anti-submarine operations decided on will be undertaken under Vice Admiral Calthorpe's orders.

It is perhaps natural that the co-operation between ourselves and the United States should be extremely close. I wish in behalf of myself and my colleagues publicly to pay tribute to the wholehearted and generous devotion to the prosecution of the war which has governed the action of every representative of the United States Navy with which we came into contact. The personnel of all ranks has the respect and esteem of the officers of the British Navy.

The trend of the figures of loss by enemy action is steadily improving. The loss to the world's tonnage during February was little over half the loss in February last year.

The loss for the five months ended in February is 10 per cent. less than the loss in the corresponding months the year previous, although during four months of the latter period unrestricted submarine warfare had not been proclaimed by the enemy. If during the last five months the rate of loss had been maintained at the same rate as for the immediate preceding quarter—that is, the third quarter of last year—the

world's shipping would be 600,000 tons less than it is today.

Instead of a rise in ship production we have a serious drop. Why? The main fact is that owing to labor unrest and strike difficulties the men in the yards are not working as if the life of the country depended on their exertions. The employers are perhaps not doing all they could. The long strain of the war must have an effect upon their nerves as upon every one else. The serious unrest which existed in January will have an effect on completions in later months. I am driven to the conclusion that even at this late date the situation is not fully realized.

MORE TONNAGE NEEDED

To reach production at the rate of 3,000,000 tons a year is well within the capacity of our shipyards, but these results cannot be obtained unless the maximum output is given by every one concerned.

As to the destruction of German submarines, I have no reason to depart from my opinion that the submarine is held, but not mastered. Submarines are being destroyed in increasing numbers, and as our methods develop the numbers will further increase. There is a growing reluctance on the part of the German crews to put to sea. The chances of a submarine returning from a voyage in the waters around England are one in four or one in five. For some months, we believe, we and the Americans have been sinking submarines as fast as they are built.

The efforts of the British Navy and the navies of its allies are being steadily developed and a large program of anti-submarine craft and devices is being pushed forward, although the lag in the mercantile shipbuilding is reflected here also. Nevertheless, we and our allies are now able to devote more resources to the Mediterranean, which in the past has been regarded by submarine commanders as a rest cure and happy hunting ground. The convoy system has been greatly developed and is a real success. Since it was adopted 35,000 ships have been convoyed with very low losses.

One result of the convoy system has been to drive the enemy closer to the shore, thus rendering the open sea safer for navigation. During the first months of the unrestricted submarine war 50 per cent. of the losses occurred more than fifty miles from land, and only 21 per cent. within ten miles of the shore. Today the losses outside the fifty-mile line have fallen to 1 per cent., while the losses close to land have risen to 61 per cent.

This transfer of attacks nearer the coast gives increasing opportunities for attacking the enemy by patrolling surface craft and airplanes, and enables us to save many vessels which would otherwise have been lost. The improved salvage arrangements have made tremendous demands on labor and material. Repairs are today occupying more men than new mercantile construction. The salving is so efficient that of all British armed ships damaged last year only eight were abandoned.

The Month's Submarine Losses

British Admiralty figures of ships sunk by submarine or mine during the last month showed an increase over the previous period. The British ships lost were:

	Over 1,000 Tons.	Under 1,000 Tons.	Fish- ing Ves- sels.
Week ended Feb. 17, 1918..12		3	1
Week ended Feb. 24.....14		4	7
Week ended March 3.....12		6	..
Week ended March 10.....15		3	1
Total for four weeks.....53		16	9
Total previous 4 weeks...38		19	7

To the above losses must be added those of other allied nations and of neutral countries.

The British hospital ship *Glenart Castle*, with 182 persons, but no patients, on board, was sunk in the Bristol Channel on Feb. 26. The United States torpedo destroyer *Parker* helped to rescue survivors, but 144 persons, including Red Cross doctors, orderlies, and seven women nurses, were lost when the vessel went down. Only seven of the lifeboats could be launched, partly because the ex-

plosion smashed nearly all on the starboard side and partly on account of the rough sea. The ship sank in seven minutes.

One hundred and ten persons perished when the French steamer *La Dives* was torpedoed and sunk in the Mediterranean on Feb. 1, according to an official statement issued Feb. 20.

Two officers and forty-eight men were lost in the British armed mercantile cruiser *Calgarian*, which was torpedoed and sunk on March 1. The *Calgarian*, 17,515 tons, was one of the finest merchant ships in the British service. An unusual feature of the case was the fact that the ship was struck by four torpedoes, suggesting that several German submarines concentrated to make certain of sinking it.

The Spanish Government decided on Feb. 21 to publish three notes to the German Government relative to the sinking

of Spanish ships by submarines and the invasion of Spanish territorial waters by U-boats. The first note took up the case of the *Duca di Genova*, and demanded that Spanish territorial waters be respected. The second, concerning the *Giralda*, demanded German recognition of Spain's right to regulate her coastwise traffic without reserve. The third, concerning the *Ceferino*, asked an explanation or the information thus far received officially in Berlin. A dispatch from Bilbao to Madrid on Feb. 26 stated that the Spanish steamer *Neguri* had been sunk by a submarine. Her crew was landed on Ferro Island, one of the Canary group. The *Neguri* was the fifth Spanish vessel torpedoed by submarines in as many weeks.

The month brought a completed death roll of Americans lost in the *Tuscania*, the sinking of which was described in these pages a month ago. The total was 212.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From
February 16, 1918, Up to and Including March 17, 1918

UNITED STATES

A National Labor Conference Board, composed of representatives of capital and labor, was formed at the suggestion of Secretary of Labor W. B. Wilson to lay down a basis of relations during the war. The first conference was held in Washington on Feb. 25.

Announcement was made March 8 that an economic agreement with Spain, providing that General Pershing should get mules, army blankets, and other materials in that country in return for cotton, oil, and other commodities, had been signed in Madrid. France was also a party to the agreement, and arrangements were made for supplying her army.

A complete economic agreement was reached with Norway on Feb. 22.

President Wilson, in a decree made public March 6, authorized four new decorations for bravery, service, or wounds in the war against Germany.

Secretary Baker arrived in France March 10 to confer with General Pershing and to inspect the American forces.

Plans for the division of the country into ten munition zones to push production were

announced by the War Department on March 10, and a leading business man was appointed from each section to be District Chief of the Production Division of the Ordnance Department.

The casualties among the American expeditionary forces, as announced by the War Department on March 17, reached a total of 1,856.

The Daylight Saving bill, setting the nation's clocks ahead one hour, beginning March 31, passed its final legislative stages on March 16 and went to the President for signature. The measure provided that the clocks should be turned back again on the last Sunday in October. It was estimated that the change would save \$40,000,000 in the nation's lighting expenditure.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

Dover was bombarded by a German submarine Feb. 16. One child was killed and several persons were injured.

British losses for the week ended Feb. 16 included twelve ships of over 1,600 tons; for the week ended Feb. 23, eighteen; for the week ended March 2, twelve, and for the week ended March 9, fifteen.

The British hospital ship *Glenart Castle* was sunk in Bristol Channel Feb. 26, and 164 persons were reported missing. The hospital ship *Guilford Castle* was attacked March 10 in the Bristol Channel, but escaped damage.

Commander Carlyon Bellairs announced in Commons on March 5 that submarine sinkings of merchantmen averaged 70,000 tons weekly in January and 80,000 tons weekly in February.

The British armed mercantile cruiser *Calgarian* was sunk March 1. Forty-eight men were lost.

French and Italian losses amounted to one or two vessels of over 1,600 tons weekly.

Spain lost three ships—the *Mar Caspio*, which was sunk Feb. 23; the *Neguri*, Feb. 26, and a grain ship, chartered to the Swiss, which was torpedoed on March 2 while on its way from America to Europe.

Norway announced on March 14 that two steamers, the *Skrymer* and the *Estrella*, had been sunk.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Feb. 17—Active artillery fire west of Lago di Garda, east of the Brenta, and on the middle Piave.

Feb. 22—Artillery actions in the Trentino and from Asiago Plateau east on Monte Grappe.

March 2—Italian patrols seize enemy stores in fighting on Asiago Plateau; artillery active on both sides of the Brenta.

March 3—Austrian attack in the Frenzela Valley breaks down under Italian barrage.

March 8—Italians repulse raids in the Valfreddo region and fire on enemy troop movements in the Val Brenta and Col della Berretta regions.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR

Feb. 19—British advance two miles on a front of fifteen miles east of Jerusalem.

Feb. 20—British advance three and a half miles east of Jerusalem.

Feb. 21—British capture Jericho.

Feb. 23—Turks retire across the Jordan.

March 4—British advance two miles on a twelve-mile front on their northern advance from Jericho.

March 8—British troops on the Jerusalem-Nablus road advance three miles on an eighteen-mile front.

March 10—British occupy Hit in Mesopotamia.

March 11—Turks fall back twenty-two miles from Hit and occupy Kahn-Baghdadi on the Euphrates; British advance a mile and a quarter in Palestine.

March 13—British advance three miles on an eleven-mile front in the coastal region of Palestine, capturing many villages.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Feb. 16—British repulse German raids south of the Scarpe; French penetrate German lines near Vauquoise.

Feb. 18—French repulse German attacks in the Butte du Mesnil sector.

Feb. 20—French enter German lines over a large front in Lorraine.

Feb. 21—Announcement made that British have taken over from the French a part of the line south of St. Quentin.

Feb. 22—Patrol action on the Aisne front reveals presence of American troops there.

Feb. 24—German fire northwest of Toul checked by American guns.

Feb. 25—American patrol, in conjunction with French patrol, penetrates German lines in the Chemin des Dames sector.

Feb. 26—Germans make gas attack on American line, killing three men and disabling a number of others.

Feb. 27—Germans fail in two attempts to recapture French positions at Butte du Mesnil.

Feb. 28—German surprise attack north of Dixmude repulsed by Belgians.

March 1—Americans repulse German attack north of Toul; Germans engage Americans and French in hand-to-hand struggle east of Chavignon.

March 2—Americans again repulse attacks in the Chemin des Dames sector.

March 3—German assaults in the Champagne sector repulsed.

March 5—Americans repulse German attacks in Lorraine.

March 8—Germans force British advance posts on the Ypres-Dixmude sector to fall back, but British re-establish their lines.

March 11—British repulse heavy assaults near Ypres and Armentières; Americans enter German trenches in the Toul sector.

March 12—Americans raid German trenches near Lunéville; German raiding party, attacking Portuguese positions near Lavantie, caught in flanking machine-gun fire.

March 14—Americans in the Lunéville sector occupy German trenches northeast of Badonviller.

March 15—French gain a footing west of the Mauroy road in the Champagne district.

March 17—Germans raid American positions in the Toul sector and a few Germans enter the American lines; French repulse German attacks in the direction of Samogneux and in the Bezonvaux region of the Verdun sector, and enter German trenches at Malancourt.

AERIAL RECORD

Allied aviators raided Innsbrück, Feb. 20, killing many Austrian soldiers.

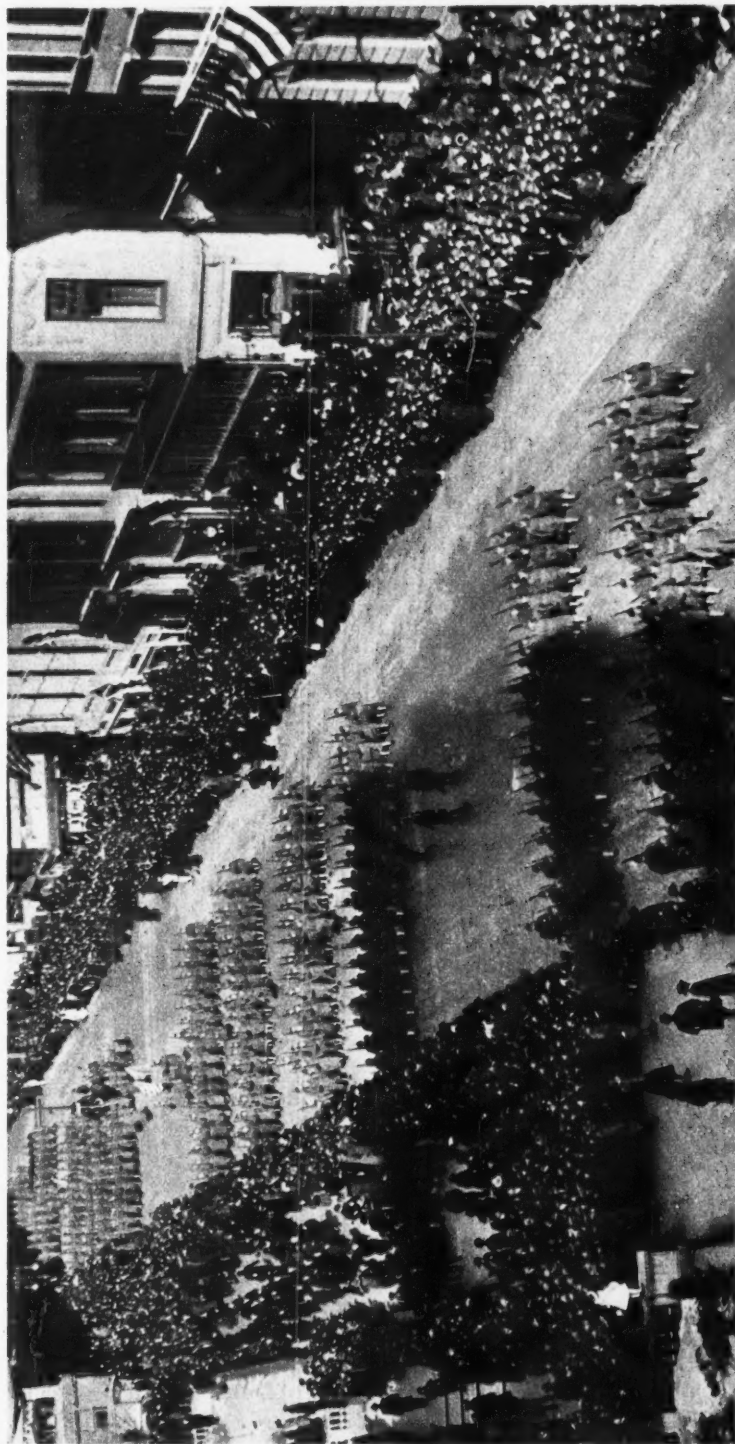
Venice was raided on Feb. 26 and the Church of Santa Giustina, the Church of San Simeone Piccolo, and the Church of St. John Chrysostom were damaged.

Naples was attacked March 11. Sixteen persons were killed and forty wounded.

Bombs were dropped on Petrograd March 3. Three persons were killed and five wounded.

The British bombarded Mainz on March 9,

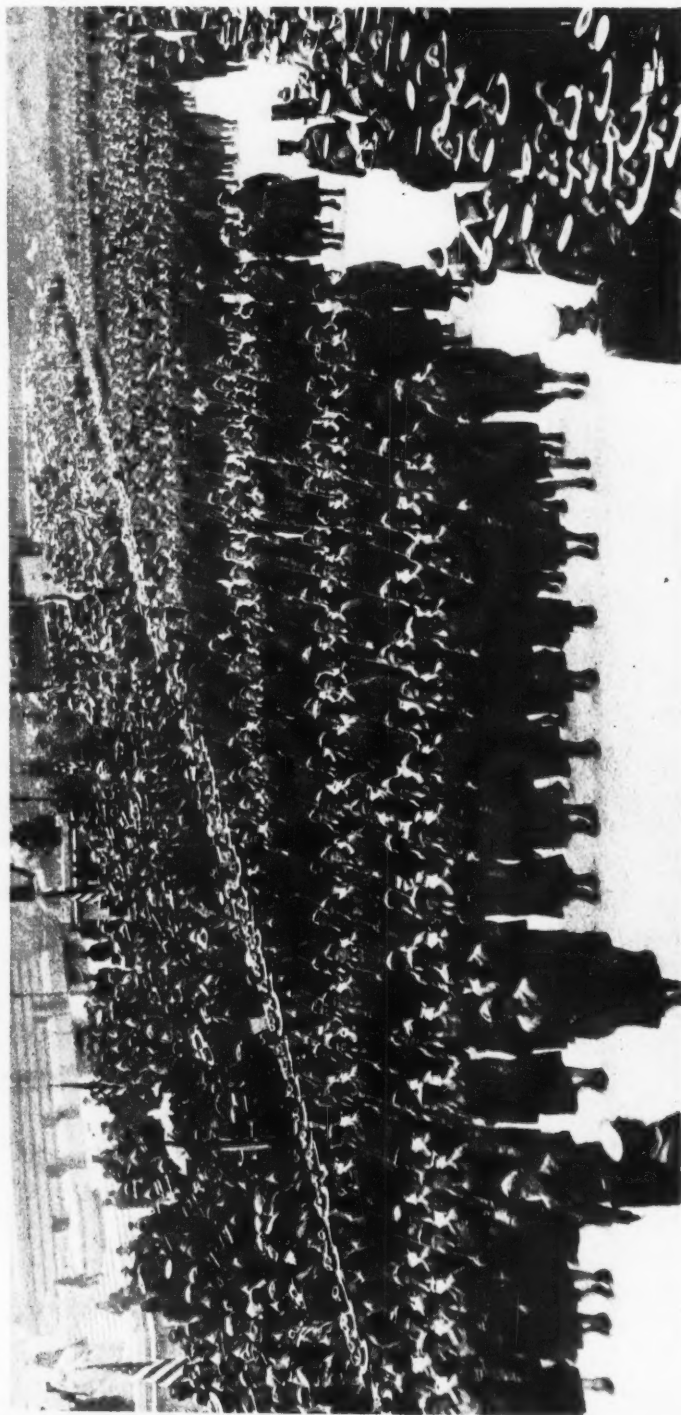
"NEW YORK'S OWN" ON PARADE, FEB. 4, 1918



The 308th Infantry Regiment, or "New York's Own," as it is more popularly called, passing the reviewing stand outside the Public Library at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Forty-second Street, New York City

(© International Film Service)

NATIONAL ARMY MEN READY TO LEAVE FOR FRANCE



Ten thousand men of the draft army from Camp Upton, N. Y., marching through New York City on Feb. 22, 1918, during a snowstorm. These men, after less than six months in camp, were already fit to leave for France and conclude their training there

(© International Film Service)

killing eight persons. On March 10 they caused several fires by dropping bombs on the Daimler Motor Works and other objectives at Stuttgart. On March 12 they raided Coblenz, and on March 13 they dropped bombs on munitions plants and barracks at Freiburg. Zeveibrücken was raided March 16, and on March 17 they bombed Kaiserslautern.

Nancy was bombed by the Germans on Feb. 27.

Paris was raided on the night of March 8 and thirteen persons were killed and fifty hurt. Another raid occurred on the night of March 11, when thirty-four persons were killed by bombs, seventy-nine were injured, and sixty-six suffocated in a panic at a subway entrance. Four German machines were brought down and fifteen raiders killed or made prisoner.

German aircraft crossed the Kent coast of the Thames estuary on the night of Feb. 16 to bomb London. Eleven persons were killed and four injured. A raid on Dover was repelled by British pilots. Fifteen persons were killed and thirty-eight injured in a raid on the next evening, and a third consecutive raid was made on the night of Feb. 18, but the Germans were driven off and there were no casualties. This was the one hundredth raid on London. On the night of March 7 eleven persons were killed and forty-six injured in London. Bombs were dropped on Hull March 12, and one woman died of shock. The northeast coast of England was again raided on the night of March 13. Five persons were killed and nine injured.

In the first ten days of March British aviators destroyed thirty-nine German airplanes and brought down forty others out of control on the western front.

Two British seaplanes destroyed one German seaplane and downed another in a battle over the North Sea on March 14.

NAVAL RECORD

The German auxiliary cruiser Wolf returned to Kiel on Feb. 24 after sinking eleven vessels in a fifteen months' raid in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans. The Spanish ship Igotz-Mendi, with a German prize crew on board, was driven ashore near the Skaw Lighthouse, and twenty-two prisoners, including two Americans, were taken off. The ship was interned by the Danes, with the result that Germany protested to the Danish Government.

Two Russian transports were attacked and sunk by German destroyers after a fight south of Aland Islands on March 7.

The Russian fleet at Odessa withdrew to Sevastopol on the entry of the Germans into Odessa.

RUSSIA

German forces began a new invasion of Russia on Feb. 18, the day when the

armistice agreement between Russia and the Central Powers expired. The next day the Bolshevik Government issued a statement, signed by Lenine and Trotzky, announcing that Russia had been forced to sign a peace dictated by the delegates of the Quadruple Alliance at Brest-Litovsk. The German terms included the retention of Poland, Lithuania, Esthonia, Livonia, and Moon Island. Within a few days the Germans had occupied Dvinsk, Lutsck, Minsk, and Rovno, and many important cities in Esthonia. Resistance was ordered by the Bolshevik Government on Feb. 22, and Petrograd was declared in a state of siege. The next day, Feb. 23, Germany made a new offer of peace, calling for the cession of more territory and the demobilization of the army and navy. At the same time her armies continued to advance. On Feb. 23 they occupied Walk, on Feb. 25 they took Reval, and on Feb. 27 they occupied Borisoff.

Turkey began an offensive in the Caucasus on Feb. 23 and occupied Platana. Three days later the Turks occupied Trebizond.

The Bolshevik Government announced on Feb. 24 that Germany's peace terms had been accepted. The treaty was signed, at Brest-Litovsk on March 3, Russia ceding Batum, Kars, and Ardahan to Turkey. Leon Trotzky, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister, resigned because of a disagreement over the peace terms.

The All-Russia Congress of Soviets, which met at Moscow March 14, voted to ratify the treaty in spite of a message sent to them by President Wilson expressing sympathy with the Russian people. Germany announced that German commissions with the power of veto would be appointed to the Russian Ministries to control the fulfillment of the agreement. The Caucasus Government issued a statement refusing to indorse the treaty because of the cession of territory to Turkey, and declared that peace with Turkey could be signed only by the Caucasus Government. The Moscow Congress also authorized the creation of an army of both sexes, expressed appreciation of President Wilson's message, and approved the removal of the capital to Moscow.

Japan and China signified their willingness to intervene in Siberia for the protection of allied interests. A clash between the Maximalists and the Japanese occurred at Blagovieshtchensk, capital of the Amur province, on March 15, and 150 Japanese were murdered.

General Semenoff led a movement of the Cossacks in Siberia to redeem the country from the Bolsheviks and the Germans.

Intense fighting occurred in Ukraine between the Germans and the Bolsheviks. The Germans captured Kolenkowitz on Feb. 26, and on March 2 they took Kiev.

Premier von Seydler announced in the Austrian Reichsrat on Feb. 20 that a supplementary treaty had been arranged with the Ukraine Rada by which the Polish province of Kholm would not be handed over immediately to the Ukraine Republic, but its future would be determined by a mixed commission.

German troops landed in Finland on Feb. 21, and on March 1 a treaty was signed between Russia and Finland providing for the evacuation of Finland by the Russians. On March 7 official announcement was made that a treaty of peace had been signed between Finland and Germany, and the next day it was reported that the Finnish Government had asked the German Emperor to appoint Prince Oscar of Hohenzollern King of Finland.

The Aland Islands were seized by Sweden on Feb. 19. German troops occupied them March 3. Russia protested, on March 10, against German occupation as a breach of the peace treaty. On March 14 the people sent an appeal to the Finnish Government and to the German and Swedish monarchs, asking that their wishes concerning their Government be considered before the final peace conference, and requesting that a plebiscite be taken. The United States Government protested to the Finnish Government, March 15, against the arrest by the Germans of Henry Crosby Emery, and the British protested against the arrest of sixteen Britishers in the same party with Mr. Emery, all of whom were taken aboard a German steamer and taken to Danzig, Germany.

The State Council of Courland offered the Ducal Crown to the King of Prussia, March 15.

Germany replied to Lithuania's requests for recognition by making it dependent upon an agreement to certain military, customs, railway, and currency conventions, according to an Amsterdam dispatch dated March 14.

Armenia again became exposed to Turkish cruelty as a result of the cession of territory by Russia in the peace treaty. Massacres occurred in Trebizond, which was reoccupied by the Turks on Feb. 26. On March 3 reports were received at The Hague of the massacre of the entire male population of Samsun. On March 14 the Turks occupied Erzerum, and the Armenians offered resistance.

RUMANIA

Rumania received an ultimatum from the Bolshevik Government on Feb. 17 demanding the evacuation of Bessarabia by the Rumanian and counter-revolutionary troops and the right to transport Russian

troops through Rumanian and Bessarabian territory. Conclusion of a treaty of peace, in which Rumania conceded these demands, was announced on March 9.

A preliminary peace between Rumania and the Central Powers was signed on March 6. It provided for the cession to the Teutons of Dobrudja as far as the Danube and portions of the frontier of Rumania bordering on Austria-Hungary. Rumania undertook to further the transportation of Teutonic troops through Moldavia and Bessarabia to Odessa. On March 13 the Teutons demanded a "rectification" of the boundary between Austria-Hungary and Rumania. On the same day German troops entered Odessa. The Averescu Cabinet resigned on March 15. On March 17 the Germans occupied Nikolayev, and the Russian fleet escaped from Odessa to Sebastopol.

MISCELLANEOUS

General Sir William Robertson refused to keep the post of Chief of the British Imperial Staff, according to an announcement made on Feb. 16, and General Sir Henry Wilson was appointed to succeed him. General Robertson declined appointment on the Versailles War Council, but accepted the command of the eastern parts of the British Isles.

Charles Humbert, Senator from the Meuse and proprietor of the Paris Journal, was arrested on Feb. 18, and charged with treason as the result of his alleged dealings with Bolo Pacha. The appeal of Bolo Pacha from the sentence of death was rejected by the Court of Revision March 12. The same action was taken in the case of Darius Porchère.

An Interallied Labor Conference was held in London, beginning Feb. 21. It accepted the war-aims program enunciated by British labor on Dec. 28.

Chancellor von Hertling addressed the German Reichstag, Feb. 25, on peace, announcing that he agreed fundamentally with President Wilson's four principles. Secretary Balfour replied in the British House of Commons on Feb. 27, announcing that he saw no basis of peace in Hertling's speech.

The United States and Great Britain notified Holland on March 14 of their intention to take over Dutch ships in American and Entente ports on March 18 unless Holland was able to reach a definite agreement regarding them by that time. On the same day the United States War Trade Board announced that Germany was deliberately seeking by a campaign of ruthlessness to starve out the North European neutrals by cutting them off from American and allied food supplies.

[OFFICIAL]

Military Events of the Month

From February 13 to March 17, 1918

[ISSUED BY THE UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT IN WEEKLY REPORTS]

CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *herewith presents five weekly reports, beginning with the week ended Feb. 20, 1918, issued by the United States War Department, giving the official review of military operations on all fronts.*

**Week Ended
Feb. 20**

While there have been outwardly no new developments in the military situation in the west during the period under consideration, yet it is apparent that both the enemy and the Allies, after extensive preparations, which have been silently and systematically carried on, are ready for battle. The Germans have recently withdrawn a number of their veteran west front units from the first-line trenches and are busily training them in mobile warfare.

According to advices received, the German General Staff hopes that by massing a large number of these picked shock battalions, which have been intensively trained, they may deliver a crushing blow. The bulk of the German forces are now assembled in the west. But a large number of these units are wholly untrained in the method of western front warfare, which differs radically from that conducted along other fronts. Furthermore, the German higher command realizes fully that their forces will meet with far more difficult tactical obstacles than any hitherto encountered by an attacking army. A break through was possible in Russia only after the morale of the Russians had been undermined; the same was true in Italy, and we witnessed how speedily the Italian line was mended.

During the week there has been much activity of a minor character along the entire western front. In Lorraine a segment of the line is entirely under the control of our forces. Along our front patrol encounters were numerous. The Germans undertook a raid against our positions and succeeded in inflicting a

few casualties. A small American patrol, while scouting in No Man's Land, was ambushed by the enemy.

The weather was very rainy during the first part of the week and our troops were busy manning the pumps in an effort to keep their trenches dry. Later clear weather prevailed and hostile aircraft made frequent flights to reconnoitre our positions. A marked improvement in our anti-aircraft barrage is reported. Artillery duels took place and the Germans showered our lines with gas shells, which, however, caused no casualties owing to efficient gas-mask protection.

AMERICANS UNDER FIRE

In Champagne units of American artillery participated in an engagement undertaken by French forces. This operation was the most important of the week in the west. After very careful artillery preparation, during which our batteries co-operated usefully, French infantry advanced to the assault southwest of the Butte du Mesnil, along a front of about 1,400 yards. The French, succeeding in penetrating the German positions, broke through the second and reached the third German line. During this brisk attack the French destroyed many enemy shelters, inflicted much damage to enemy positions, besides bringing back 150 prisoners.

Other successful raids were undertaken by French detachments in the vicinity of the Chemin des Dames, east of Rheims, in Upper Alsace and elsewhere. In all, the French drove forward twelve very fortunate reconnoissance undertakings along different parts of the line.

German units were also active. Their attempts to reach the French lines were

temporarily successful in the vicinity of Bezonvaux and in Alsace. However, seven German raids at various other points broke down. French artillery kept the enemy constantly engaged along a widely scattered area.

The British front was also the scene of numerous minor engagements. No im-

tance. The crossing of the Dvina was unopposed. In the region of the Gulf of Riga the German forces are rapidly advancing through Esthonia and have already reached a point 100 miles east of Riga. German warships have appeared off Reval. Harpsal has been captured.

The Germans apparently plan to seize Esthonia, Livonia, and parts of Finland, and even occupy Petrograd.

Finnish are assisting the enemy in gaining a foothold on the Finnish coast. Four hostile transports have landed Finnish soldiers, who had served in the German Army, at Vasa. A vigorous offensive against the Finnish Bolsheviks who are in control south of Tammerfors and Viborg seems to be contemplated.

In the sector of the eastern front under Austrian control their forces are pushing deep into Volhynia. After the occupation of Lutsk the Austrians appear to have formed a junction with certain Ukrainian contingents and advanced on Rovno, which was captured and cleared of Russians.



KEY MAP SHOWING POINTS WHERE UNITED STATES TROOPS ARE FIGHTING IN FRANCE. THE NUMBERS CORRESPOND WITH THOSE ON DETAILED MAPS

portant actions took place and the enemy, who was evidently busy with the grouping of units and disposing fresh forces recently arrived from other theatres in the front line, undertook only such reconnoitring engagements as to familiarize the new units with the nature of the terrain in front of them.

Week Ended
Feb. 24

The most important news of the week comes to us from the Russian theatre. As was anticipated last week, the German forces have again taken the offensive. The enemy is moving eastward along a broad front. Dvinsk, Minsk, and Lutsk were occupied without resis-



The number of prisoners taken by the Central Powers is increasing rapidly, and the war material already enumerated which has fallen into the hands of the enemy includes 1,353 guns, 120 machine guns, between 4,000 and 5,000 motor cars, and 1,000 freight cars filled with food supplies, airplanes, and other booty.

Hitherto little opposition has been offered to the advancing Germans, and it

is not as yet clear what preparations the Russians are making to meet the enemy. Owing to the disorganization of the Russian forces, it is difficult to presage what effective opposition they may be able to place in the path of the invaders. It is reported that Russian units are concentrating at Vitebsk, 150 miles southeast of Dvinsk.

While no major undertakings were recorded in the west, yet the entire front was the scene of hard-driven assaults of a minor character.

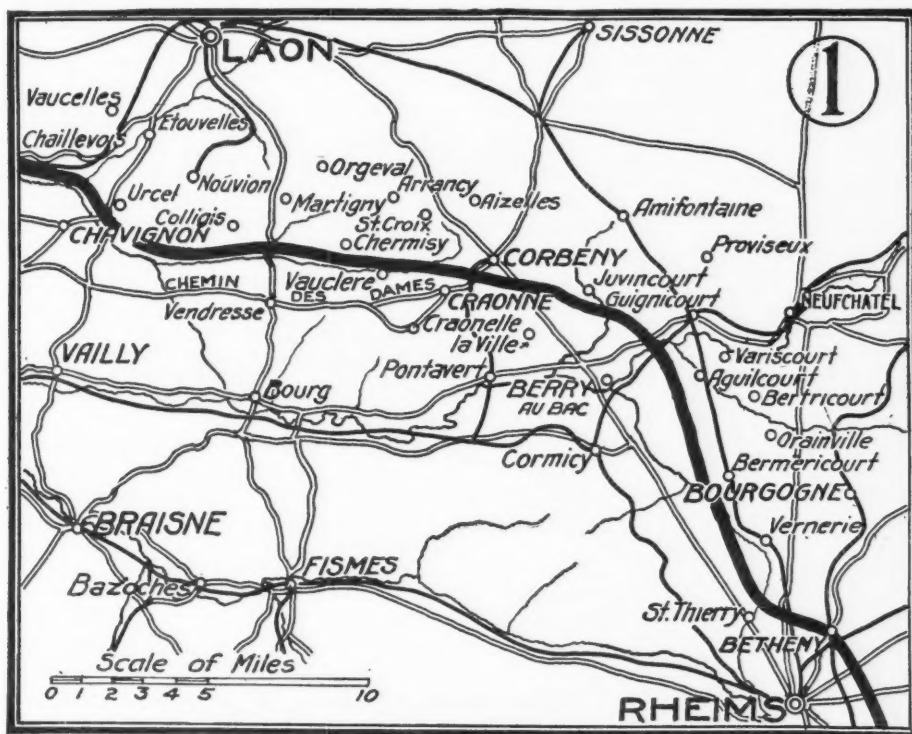
AMERICAN PATROLS ACTIVE

Our own forces are taking an increasingly important part in the operations.

in No Man's Land, which were successfully carried through.

At the time our detachments were coming up into the trenches they were under heavy hostile shellfire; nevertheless, our men made their way to their stations without confusion or casualties. It is useful to note that our forces now in action in this, one of the most active sectors of the entire French front, have acquitted themselves very creditably.

During the week General Pershing made a personal inspection of the American sector northwest of Toul. He visited all of our first-line trenches, observation posts, battery emplacements, and



AMERICAN TROOPS OCCUPY POSITIONS ALONG THE FAMOUS CHEMIN DES DAMES, NEAR CHAVIGNON

Last week we recorded the participation of our artillery in the very successful thrust made by the French in the region of the Butte du Mesnil. This week the presence of our infantry in a very important area of the Chemin des Dames is reported. Here our patrols have been outside our barbed wire and have undertaken a number of scouting expeditions

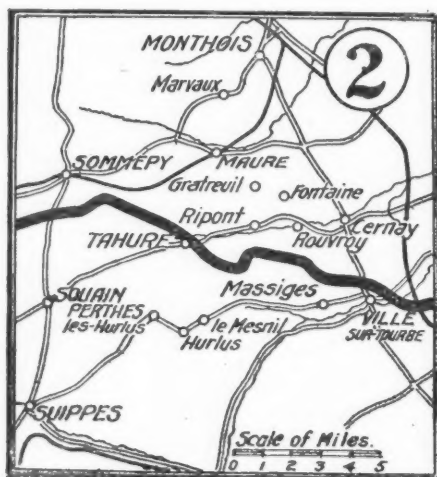
other points of interest. During the two days spent on this tour the Commander in Chief came in close contact with the men in the trenches, heard their comments or complaints, and noted carefully all suggestions offered to better the condition and welfare of our troops in action.

Our men who have completed their first period of duty in the trenches have

arrived at the leave centre established at Aix-les-Bains. This is the first of a series of rest centres it is proposed to establish, where our men can find rest and recreation after the trying ordeal of trench life.

MANY ENEMY RAIDS

Along the French front the enemy reacted energetically in the region southwest of the Butte du Mesnil. After a sanguinary encounter, the Germans succeeded in regaining part of the trenches



LE MESNIL AND TAHURE, EAST OF RHEIMS, ARE AMONG THE POINTS WHERE AMERICANS HAVE BEEN FIGHTING

lost last week. A further attempt, in which three German battalions participated, was repulsed. In a third assault the Germans took 125 prisoners, but the French forces regained the lost positions after a spirited counterattack. Our artillery participated in these operations.

Numerous hostile raids were executed, only two of which were partially successful, the one at St. Mihiel, the other along the Aisne-Oise Canal, while enemy reconnoitring parties were driven off in Champagne, Upper Alsace, and elsewhere.

The French carried out three well-planned raids, and in Lorraine took 525 prisoners.

Artillery duels took place along the entire front. A decided increase in the intensity of bombardments was noted.

The British have taken over an addi-

tional segment of the French line. The transfer of an appreciable mileage of the front below St. Quentin was made to the British without difficulty or delay.

Along the British front great activity prevailed. Near Epehy the Irish, near Lens the Canadians, east of Polygon Wood the New Zealanders, conducted successful local drives against enemy positions. The Germans raided the British lines north of Ypres, near La Vacquerie, and at a few other points.

After a heavy bombardment east of Arleux-en-Gohelle, the Germans began to advance against British positions. The attacking party was completely routed and a number of Germans were made prisoner.

U-BOAT BASES BOMBED

The weather was favorable for work in the air. The British again successfully bombed the submarine bases of Zeebrugge, as well as hostile concentrations in the vicinity of Ghent, Laon, Courtrai, Lille, &c. French aviators made a series of air attacks against points of military importance in the rear of enemy positions.

The Germans were also active, and a decided increase in hostile aircraft over our sector was reported.

In Italy, from the Val Guidicaria to the Adriatic, incessant reciprocal artillery bombardments took place. Slight infantry activity in the Val Lagarina was recorded. The Italians conducted a fortunate raid in front of Capo Sile, and the British forces operating in the Montello Hills announce a raid undertaken against hostile intrenchments.

In Palestine the British are following up their recent victories. On a fifteen-mile front east of Jerusalem the British advanced to a depth of two miles and along a seven-and-three-quarter-mile front they have pushed ahead for over three miles. Jericho has also been occupied. The offensive operations of the British are greatly facilitated by the successful completion of direct rail communication with Egypt.

In Arabia the detachment of Arabs are rendering useful assistance by the repeated raids along the railway north of Medina.

**Week Ended
March 2**

The third month of relative quiescence on the western front has come to a close. During this period both belligerent groups have been massing their forces.

There is evidence that the enemy continues to bring up fresh units. Owing to transportation difficulties this has been a slow and laborious process.

The allied war council is now in continuous session, assuring complete unity and flexibility of control.

The British have extended their front.

machine-gun fire. On March 1 the enemy developed a sharply driven attack. After a short struggle the hostile detachment was repulsed.

The Germans are now using gas along our front. Our men are becoming accustomed to this weapon. Our gas masks are efficiently protective. Our artillery was very busy shelling enemy dispositions and inflicted considerable damage on gun and mortar emplacements.

Important troop movements took place behind the German lines opposite our front.

In spite of the low visibility, hostile aircraft continued active and made frequent incursions over our lines.

In the region of the Chemin des Dames lively encounters took place. A French raid against the German outposts, in which a number of American volunteers participated, was very successfully carried through.

No important engagements occurred along the French front, which was less active than during the preceding period.

COUP DE MAIN BY FRENCH

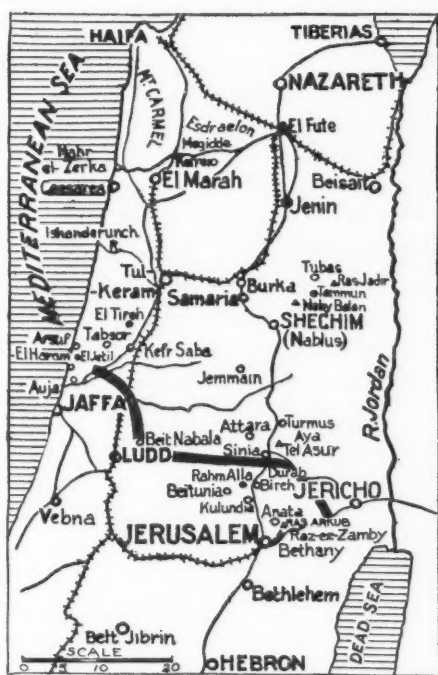
On Feb. 24 the French executed a coup de main, destroying hostile defensive works and shelters near Aspach in Upper Alsace. Small raids in Champagne and Lorraine were also recorded.

The enemy was active in the vicinity of Avocourt and Les Eparges, and was driven back while attempting to react in the vicinity of the Butte du Mesnil and the Chemin des Dames.

Artillery duels were insistent along the entire front, flaring up with peculiar intensity in the Verdun salient and Upper Alsace.

Along the British front the Germans were more alert. They made numerous attempts to reach the British lines, and their raids were partially successful in the vicinity of the Ypres-Roulers railway and along the Yser; while in the vicinity of Passchendaele and in the Cambrai area repeated assaults were driven off.

The boldest enterprise undertaken by the enemy during the week took place north of Dixmude. Here, after prolonged artillery preparations, the enemy endeavored to throw a bridge across the



BRITISH ADVANCE IN PALESTINE. JERICHO WAS CAPTURED FEB. 21

Our own forces have taken over a sector northwest of Toul. In addition, a number of our detached units are in action in Champagne.

The momentum of battle is increasing.

We have but to note the occurrences of the past week in our own sector in Lorraine in order to gain an idea of what is taking place on an even larger scale along the entire western front.

Patrols have been very active. Early in the week the enemy made two attempts to reach our lines, but was driven off by

Yser. The Belgians successfully prevented six consecutive attempts to push this operation to successful conclusion, and the Germans were finally compelled to abandon the undertaking.

INVASION OF RUSSIA

The operations in the eastern theatre will probably have some repercussion along the western front. The new trend of events in Russia has no doubt modified German plans to a certain degree.

For the time being the enemy continues to advance eastward. Following the highways and railroads, six columns of invasion along a 700-mile front are operating in careful co-ordination.

In Esthonia the enemy has reached a point approximately 100 miles from Petrograd. In Livonia, Jurjev, 160 miles east of Riga, has been entered.

The column moving on Vitebsk is advancing at an average rate of sixteen miles daily and has passed beyond Pskov. This force has met with some opposition.

After the capture of Minsk the hostile army operating in this area continued its advance, and is apparently headed for Smolensk, and its ultimate objective, should it continue to find its course unimpeded, would be to cut off and possibly occupy Moscow.

The fifth column, operating in the Pripet sector, is also converging on Smolensk, with Moscow as a final objective.

The sixth column, composed of Austrian forces operating in Volhynia, owing to the favorable reception the Austrians have received at the hands of the Ukrainians, has been able to advance more than 200 miles into the interior and is reported to be within sixty miles of Kiev.

The Russians are believed to be preparing to stem the tide of invasion. Petrograd is being prepared to withstand a siege.

ITALIAN THEATRE

In the Italian theatre the Allies executed a number of minor raids along the Piave. The enemy confined his activity to increasingly heavy bombardments west of the Asiago Plateau. In the region of Val Largarina and Lake of Garda hostile preparations were particularly noticeable.

The enemy is continuing the bombardment of the cities of Venetia by aircraft. Repeated attacks were made against Venice, and much damage was inflicted upon churches and other buildings during these raids.

In the Caucasus the Turkish forces are meeting with little opposition. The region from the Lake of Van to the Black Sea is again in Turkish hands. In the districts reoccupied by the Turks it is stated that they are massacring the Armenians.

In Palestine the British are in close contact with the Turks, who are retreating northward through the Valley of the Jordan.

In Mesopotamia the British are advancing up the Euphrates and have arrived in the vicinity of Hit, which is reported to have been evacuated by the Turks.

**Week Ended
March 9**

In spite of the fact that 120,000 square miles of Russian territory have been in-

invaded during the last three weeks, and the enemy now is sweeping forward into the heart of Russia and has reached a point within seventy miles of the capital, nevertheless the centre of gravity of the war remains in the west.

The Germans have for the last three and a half years done all in their power to upset the centre of gravity and shift it eastward. This explains the successive blows struck in Russia and later in the Italian theatre.

Notwithstanding the diversions of the minor campaigns in Mesopotamia, Palestine, and on the Balkan front, the key positions of the war are France and Flanders. Here the strategic situation remains relatively constant. The enemy is completing the redistribution of available forces. There are some new units flowing into the lines in the nature of replacements. Nothing in the situation should lead us to estimate that the Germans have abandoned their plans of a major offensive in the west.

Considering tactical dispositions, we note that the enemy has developed two principal axes of activity, the one pivot-

ing on Rheims, the other in Alsace, in front of Lunéville. The Allies, while assuming an alert defensive, are resting content with allowing the enemy to break the strength of his assaults against their impregnable line.

The morale of the French and British forces has never been better. They are keenly anxious to give battle to the enemy, confident of their superiority.

AMERICANS ON FOUR SECTORS

Our own forces have been constantly engaged. The scope of their activities is being daily extended. The number of our detachments in the line is increasing. We now have troops in the trenches at four separate points.

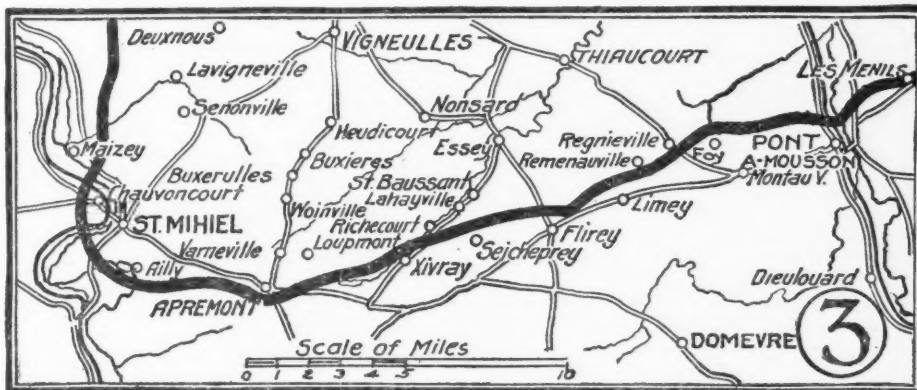
At dawn on March 5 the enemy attempted a strong raid against one of

ing apparatus, which was captured and later brought into our lines. During this attack the liquid fire reached a trench segment which contained none of our men, and little damage was inflicted. Our own patrols are continuously out on scouting missions, keeping in close contact with the enemy.

In our Toul sector the Germans are carrying on extensive preparations, continuing to bring up fresh units and accumulating material, apparently with a view to undertaking more extensive operations.

FRENCH SURPRISE ATTACK

During the period under review the French along their front have remained relatively inactive. However, they carried out a very successful surprise at-



ST. MIHIEL SALIENT, WHERE AMERICANS HOLD SEVERAL MILES OF TRENCHES THROUGH SEICHEPREY, XIVRAY, AND FLIREY

our advance posts further south. This thrust was repulsed with a loss to the enemy. Our casualties were slight and no prisoners or missing were reported. The French General commanding this sector congratulated our commander on the splendid manner in which our troops repulsed the assaulting columns.

We now hold four and a half miles of the battle front in our principal sector.

On March 7 the enemy, making use of liquid fire, advanced to the assault against our trenches. This is the first time this weapon has been tried out against our men. The assaulting column was repulsed and the Germans were compelled to abandon the flame-throw-

tack east of the Meuse against the enemy positions in the Calonne trenches. The French forces, on a frontage of some 1,200 yards, advanced to a depth of 600 yards and were able to reach the German fourth-line positions. The enemy counterattacked in force on the French left flank, but was repulsed without difficulty, and the French brought in over 150 prisoners.

French units drove the Germans from positions where they had recently gained a foothold in the vicinity of Fort Pompele, southeast of Rheims. By a fortunate stroke, the French were able to dislodge the enemy and regain complete control of their old line.

During the last seven-day period the

Germans conducted no less than twenty hard-driven raids along the French front. The greater part of these were repulsed without difficulty, though the enemy was able to capture some 400 prisoners west of the Meuse early in the week, as well as to retake part of the trenches in the region of the Butte du Mesnil, which the French had captured in February.

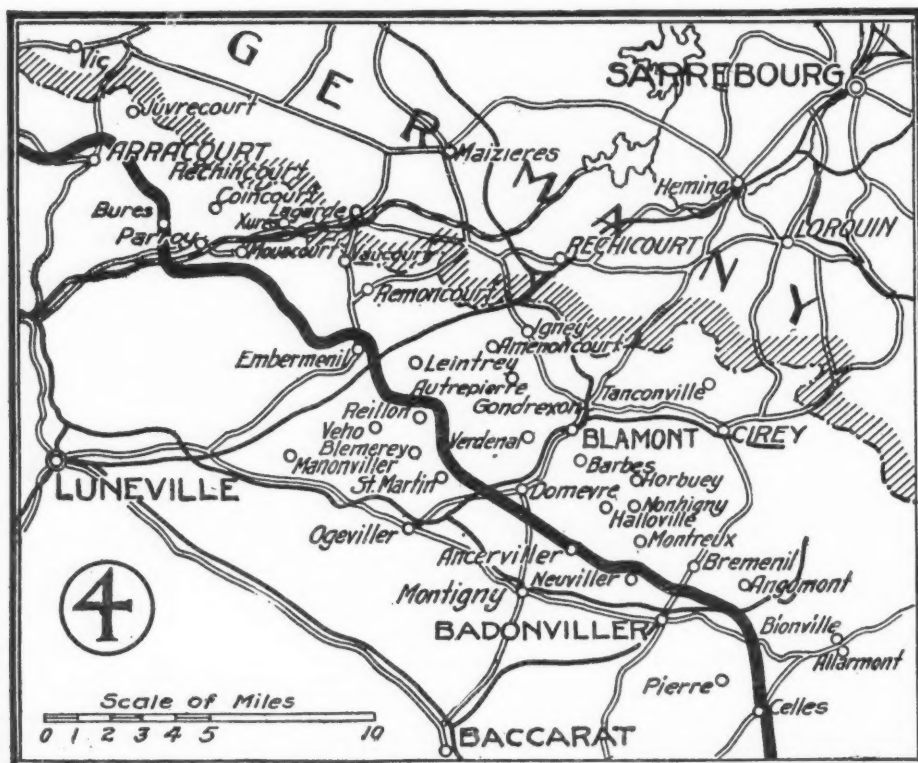
Along the British front, the British continued to hold the initiative and drove forward a series of successful minor

prisoners south of St. Quentin and north of Scarpe.

TWO ACTIVE NIGHTS

The Germans made raids into the British lines at a large number of points. Along the whole sector hostile raiding is increasing, and during two successive nights the Germans undertook no less than ten operations which were more than mere raids.

More serious fighting took place in the Ypres-Dixmude sector. Here the enemy



EAST OF LUNEVILLE AMERICANS ATTACKED AND SEIZED ENEMY TRENCHES NEAR BADONVILLER

raids along the Ypres salient, as well as at many points southward. The Australians carried out a very successful reconnaissance at Warneton, taking a number of prisoners and several machine guns. Though the attacking forces met with strong resistance, nevertheless they were able to mop up the enemy trenches in short order and reached the German second line after repulsing two strong counterthrusts. The English brought in

launched an attack in force on a frontage of over a mile and was able to gain a temporary foothold in the British advance post, south of Houthulst Wood. Severe fighting ensued, and as a result of a very brisk engagement the British units not only repulsed the enemy, but drove forward 300 yards from their original starting point.

In the region of Messines a trench element held by the Portuguese forces was

assaulted by the enemy, but the Portuguese troops held their ground firmly and drove off the attacking column.

As indicative of the intense air activities which now prevail, 214 enemy aircraft were brought down during last month on the western front. The Allies lost only eighty-eight machines on all fronts, while the enemy is credited with the loss of 273.

ITALIAN FRONT

In the Italian theatre heavy snow in the mountain area has prevented further operations. Artillery duels were, however, lively from the Astico to the Brenta, and from the eastern slopes of the Monte Grappa to the Piave.

The Italian front remains temporarily quiet. Advices indicate that the enemy contemplates taking the offensive in the mountain area, possibly in an effort to debouch through the Val Lagarina into the plain. We may look for increased activity in this theatre, which will, no doubt, develop spontaneously when preparations have been completed and weather conditions are more favorable.

In the meantime, Italian forces have now fully recovered from their losses of the campaign of last Autumn. Their cadres are reorganized, and the Italian armies are operating in close conjunction with the British and French divisions now at the front in Italy.

INVASION OF RUSSIA

In Russia the situation is changing with eruptive rapidity. The Germans continue to advance inland. The lists tabulated by the enemy of terrain captured, of guns, stores, and other war material taken, grow daily more voluminous.

In Finland the Germans are operating in conjunction with the White Guards against the Red Guards, and are in control of the line north of Tammerfors and Viborg. The Germans have landed on the Aland Islands, which they will probably use as a base for an invasion of Finland.

The German invasion of Russia is in full swing. One hostile column, at least, is now meeting with some opposition. In Esthonia the Russians are holding off

the invaders in front of Jamburg. This centre, though occupied by the enemy, has been retaken by Russian forces. Advices from Petrograd indicate that 100,000 workmen have enrolled in the Russian Army and are rallying for the defense of the capital.

Petrograd has been bombarded by German aircraft. Two additional invading columns, making eight in all, are making some headway along their respective lines of advance. The Livonian column has progressed about 130 miles in five and a half days, capturing many prisoners. The column advancing on Smolensk has arrived on the Dnieper and reached a point seventy-eight miles from this city. Two new columns under Austrian control are bearing down through Podolia into Northern Bessarabia. Three Russian infantry divisions are said to have surrendered to the Austrians.

In Siberia it is reported that the ex-German war prisoners are armed and drilling in the vicinity of Irkutsk, and that throughout Siberia German and Austrian prisoners of war are being assisted by certain Russian elements. Railway bridges east of Lake Baikal and in the vicinity of Chita have been destroyed as a result of the rumor of Japanese intervention.

A detachment of American engineers is en route for Harbin.

IN ASIA MINOR

In Mesopotamia the British are in constant contact with the Turks and have taken a number of prisoners in the vicinity of Hit.

In Palestine the British are pushing steadily forward, particularly along and west of the Nablus road. Cavalry encounters east and north of Jericho are reported.

In Macedonia a Bulgarian raid was repulsed southwest of Seres, and intermittent artillery action is noted in the vicinity of Monastir.

Week Ended
March 15

The period of inactivity in the west is being prolonged. Though the raids now taking place would in the past have

been considered important engagements, nevertheless, owing to the fact that they are merely of minor tactical value, they cannot be held to be major operations. While hostile preparations for an offensive in the west are not slackening, it is becoming more evident that the enemy will launch this offensive only if compelled to do so by the exigencies of the general strategic situation.

While fresh German divisions are reported as arriving in the west, it is important to note that the density of the enemy forces has nearly reached a point beyond which it will be impracticable to go, for, should any large additional body of men be massed, the chances are that the congestion of the lines of communication will become so great as to make it impossible to maintain the flexibility of manoeuvre, which is so essential.

Our own forces in France have been constantly in action. Our troops are now in the trenches at five different points. This week we undertook our first assault against German positions unassisted by any allied contingent.

At dawn, on March 11, after a preliminary bombardment lasting three-quarters of an hour, we drove a highly successful raid against a German trench segment. Our men penetrated the German line to a depth of 300 yards. The enemy was driven off after a hand-to-hand fight, whereupon our contingent returned to our lines.

TWO SUCCESSFUL RAIDS

At three places in Lorraine American troops, acting in co-operation with small French detachments, raided German trenches. Two of these operations were carried out simultaneously, each on a frontage of some 600 yards. After a prolonged bombardment the attacking units were able to reach their objectives. Few of the enemy were found in the first-line trenches and the attackers swept forward into the German second line. Our men remained for nearly an hour in the German positions and retired after inflicting much damage and capturing a considerable quantity of material.

There has been a decided increase in sniping, owing to more favorable weather conditions. Our artillery was also very

active. We kept up a vigorous bombardment on the rear areas opposite our Toul sector. Near the Swiss border, where another detachment of our men are in the trenches, hostile bombardments were frequent.

The western front, from the North Sea to the Aisne, was the scene of much hard fighting. In Flanders the British were able completely to re-establish themselves in the advance posts near Polderhoek Ridge and Houthulst Wood, which the enemy had captured during the preceding week.

The Germans initiated a number of important raids undertaken on a wide frontage which, had they proved successful, might possibly have developed into engagements of a broader character, as the blows driven in the vicinity of Passchendaele, Houthulst Wood, and along Menin road could readily have been linked together into an offensive having a frontage of eight and one-half miles. The British successfully raided the German lines from south of St. Quentin to Houthulst Wood.

ITALY AND THE EAST

In the Italian theatre the arrival of further hostile units, and the concentration of material coming from Germany, is noted in the area east and west of the Lake of Garda, which would point to hostile operations having Verona and Brescia as their objectives.

In the eastern theatre the enemy has stopped advancing in the north, while consolidating the territory gained in the south.

The chief operation of the week culminated in the capture of Odessa. An Austrian column bearing down from the north formed a junction with a German column which had advanced rapidly across Bessarabia. The occupation of Odessa will no doubt be of economic importance to the enemy. In Finland fighting continues. German infantry has landed at Abo, and the arrival of important additional German forces on the Aland Islands is reported.

In Palestine the British continue to advance. They have now pushed their lines eighteen miles north of Jerusalem.

RUSSIA'S CAPITULATION

Story of the New German Invasion, With Events
Attending the Signing of the Peace Treaty—
Germans in Finland and the Ukraine

IN an official proclamation, issued on Feb. 10, 1918, the Petrograd Government announced its decision to withdraw from the war without signing "an annexationist treaty." Simultaneously, complete demobilization of the Russian troops on all fronts was decreed. The Bolsheviki laid down their arms in a manner new in international relations. Four days later Leon Trotzky, who headed the Russian peace delegation, reported to the Central Executive Committee of the Councils on the results of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. He stated that Russia's withdrawal from the war was genuine, and that it implied the annulment of all agreements with her allies. The committee approved Trotzky's policy, and expressed its confidence that the workers of Germany and Austria-Hungary would not allow a new offensive against the workers of Russia. The text of the official withdrawal was published in the March issue of *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*.

The "no war, but no peace" declaration of the Petrograd Government was received in Germany with much suspicion. Both in Government circles and in the press the opinion prevailed that Trotzky's step ended the armistice, but did not end the war. Dr. Richard von Kühlmann had stated at the end of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations that if no peace treaty was signed, Russia would still be at war with Germany. The fact that one of the parties had demobilized its armies did not, he believed, change the situation. On Feb. 14, the Berliner *Neueste Nachrichten*, a German daily inspired from high army circles, wrote in effect:

For us the state of war remains, and the fact of our possession of occupied eastern territory remains, too. * * * The army command stands by the point of view that so long as the Russian Government

does not produce proofs that it wishes peace earnestly and honestly, so long as it does not bring guarantees for that, and so long as evil agitation is carried on among German troops by Russian officers under orders of the Russian Army command, the situation can only produce further hostilities.

Other papers declared the Russian demobilization order to be a sham manoeuvre. They reported that this order was quickly rescinded and that the Bolsheviki were busy organizing a large Red Army. The news was circulated that the Bolsheviki were arresting Germans in Russia by wholesale and holding them as hostages.

NEW INVASION OF RUSSIA

On Feb. 15 it was reported that Germany had resolved to resume military operations against Russia. The decision had been reached at a conference of the chief German military and political leaders, including the Emperor. An official German statement declared Russia's action of Feb. 10 equivalent to a denouncement of the truce signed on Dec. 15. Accordingly the Army Headquarters announced that the armistice on the Great Russian front expired at noon Monday, Feb. 18. Germany had now a free hand in the East.

Austria-Hungary showed no eagerness to renew the war against Northern Russia. The general tone of the Viennese press was one of opposition to the reopening of hostilities against the Bolsheviki. It was pointed out among other things that the Dual Monarchy no longer bordered on Russia, and was, therefore, not called to interfere in Russian affairs. A Vienna dispatch dated Feb. 18 announced that "an agreement had been reached between Germany and Austria-Hungary whereby, in the event of military action being necessary, the German

troops would be confined to the frontier of Great Russia, and the Austrians to Ukraine only."

Two hours after the truce came to an end the Germans crossed the Dvina Bridge, which the retreating Russian Army had failed to blow up, and entered Dvinsk, meeting with little resistance. All along a front stretching from the Baltic coast to Volhynia in the south the invading troops advanced eastward. The immediate objective in the north was the seizure of Esthonia and Livonia. The Germans declared that it was their aim to rescue the population of these provinces from the Bolshevik rule of murder and looting. Simultaneously, the town of Lutsk, in the Province of Volhynia, was occupied without fighting. According to an official German statement, the campaign in the south was undertaken in response to an "appeal of the Ukrainians," in which they implored "the peaceful and order-loving German people" to help them in their struggle with the Bolsheviks. In an army order Prince Leopold of Bavaria declared that the aim of the advance was not annexation but restoration of order and suppression of anarchy threatening to infect Europe.

THE BOLSHEVIKI CAPITULATE

The reopening of hostilities had an immediate effect on the Petrograd authorities. When the first day of the invasion was over the Council of People's Commissaries (the Bolshevik Cabinet of Ministers) held an all-night sitting, which took up the question of capitulation. Lenine pronounced himself in favor of accepting the German terms unconditionally and signing a peace treaty. Trotzky stood for war, but at the last moment he changed his mind, and the peace proposal was carried by a majority of one vote. The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, the Bolshevik Parliament, was not consulted, and at 5:30 in the morning Feb. 19, a proclamation was issued by Lenine and Trotzky protesting against the German advance, but announcing that "in the present circumstances the Council of People's Commissaries regards itself as forced formally to declare its willingness to sign a peace upon the

conditions which had been dictated by the delegations of the Quadruple Alliance at Brest-Litovsk."

Later in the day Ensign Krylenko, the Bolshevik Commander in Chief, addressed the following message to the Russian troops:

The Council of People's Commissaries has offered to the Germans to sign peace immediately. I order that in all cases where Germans are encountered massed, pourparlers with the German soldiers should be organized and the proposal to refrain from fighting made to them. If Germans refuse, then you must offer to them every possible resistance.

(Signed) KRYLENKO.

Speaking on the same day (Feb. 19) before the Executive Committee of the Soviets, Lenine defended the step of the Commissaries by pointing out that the country was completely unable to offer resistance and that peace was indispensable for the completion of the social revolution in Russia. He also argued that the imperialist Governments then at war would sooner or later unite for the purpose of crushing the Socialist commonwealth of Russia, and that it was, therefore, imperative to make peace while Russia's enemies were divided. The capital received the new decision of the Government with indifference; the press was divided as to the wisdom of it.

GERMANY'S REPLY

The German reply came late in the afternoon in the form of a telegram signed by General Hoffmann. Its text, together with that of the Russian answer, follows:

To the Council of People's Commissaries—A wireless message, signed by Nikolai Lenine and L. Trotzky from Tsarskoe Selo was today (Tuesday, Feb. 19) received at König Wusterhausen at 9:12 A. M. It has been handed over to the royal Government, although a wireless message cannot be regarded as an official document because the original signatures are absent. I am authorized to request from the People's Commissaries authentication in writing of the wireless message, which must be sent to the German command at Dvinsk.

GENERAL HOFFMANN.

The Russian answer:

We are sending today from Petrograd a messenger to Dvinsk with the wireless message containing the original signa-

tures of Lenin and Trotsky. We beg you to give us an acknowledgment of this message and inform us if it has been received promptly. We also beg you to reply in Russian.

COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIES.

A messenger carrying the authentic capitulation telegram was forthwith dispatched to Dvinsk, but the Germans did not hasten to declare their attitude toward the Russian proposal. The situation remained uncertain till the end of the week. Meanwhile the invasion continued almost unopposed. The German detachments moved swiftly eastward, in four armies, and on Feb. 21 were seventy miles northeast of Riga. They announced the capture of 9,000 prisoners, including an army and a number of divisional commanders, with enormous quantities of booty.

Estonia was occupied, and in the south the Germans came into touch with the Ukrainian troops. On Feb. 23 the Turkish Army began an offensive in the Caucasus. The Russian regular troops fled in disorder, blocking the roads and leaving ruin and destruction in the wake of their retreat.

TARDY CALL TO ARMS

In these circumstances the Bolshevik authorities called on the people to resist the invaders and organize a guerrilla warfare, if necessary. "The duty of Russian workmen and peasants," said a proclamation issued by the People's Commissaries on Feb. 22, "is defense to the death of the republic against the masses of bourgeoisie and imperialists of Germany." The proclamation urged the following points:

First—All the forces in the country in their entirety must place themselves at the service of the defense of the revolution.

Second—All the councils of workmen's and soldiers' revolutionary organizations must enter into the compulsory defense of each position to the last drop of their blood.

Third—Organizations on railways and the Soviets connected therewith are obliged with all their strength to check attempts of the enemy to profit by the equipment of lines of communication. In their retreat they must destroy the railways and blow up the stations. All roll-

ing stock and locomotives must be sent eastward and into the interior of the country without delay.

Fourth—Corn and provisions in general are placed on the same footing as valuable property when in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy and must then be destroyed. The local Soviets must see that these decisions are carried out and the responsibility falls upon their representatives.

Fifth—Workmen and peasants of Petrograd, Kiev, and all towns, villages, and hamlets on the line of the new front must raise battalions to dig trenches under direction of the military Socialists.

Sixth—All members of the bourgeois class, the women as well as the men, must enter these battalions under surveillance of the Red Guards and in case of resistance must be shot.

Seventh—All institutions which offer resistance to the action of the revolution on the defensive and pass to the side of the German bourgeoisie, or which have a tendency to profit by the invasion of the imperialistic masses in order to overthrow the authority of the Soviets, must be closed. Directors of and collaborators with these institutions who are capable of work must mobilize themselves to dig trenches and engage in other defensive works.

Eighth—Foreign agents and speculators are counted as revolutionary agitators, and German spies must be shot at sight. The Socialist Fatherland is in danger. Long live the national social revolution!

Another official proclamation declared:

We agreed to sign peace terms at the cost of enormous concessions in order to save the country from final exhaustion and the ruin of the revolution. Once more the German working class, in this threatening hour, has shown itself insufficiently determined to stay the strong criminal hand of its own militarism. We had no other choice but to accept the conditions of German imperialism until a revolution changes or cancels them.

The German Government is not hastening to reply to us, evidently aiming to seize as many important positions in our territory as possible. The enemy has occupied Dvinsk, Werder, and Lutsk, and is continuing to strangle by hunger the most important centres of the revolution.

We even now are convinced firmly that the German working classes will rise against the attempts of the ruling classes to stifle the revolution, but we cannot predict with certainty when this will occur. The German imperialists may hesitate at nothing for the purpose of destroying the authority of the councils and taking the land from the peasants.

The Commissaries call on all loyal

councils and army organizations to use all efforts to re-create the army. Perverted elements of hooligans, marauders, and cowards should be expelled from the ranks, and, in the event of resistance, wiped off the face of the earth.

The bourgeoisie, who under Kerensky and the Czar evaded the burden of war and profited from its misfortunes, must be made to fulfill their duties by the most decisive and merciless measures.

RUSSIA'S CANOSSA

This appeal testified to the ascendancy of the war party in the Petrograd Government, but that ascendancy was only temporary. The Bolsheviks who advocated resistance had a powerful enemy in the person of Lenine, head of the Government, who held the view that peace should have been signed at Brest-Litovsk. "The Russians," he said, "must preserve the revolution at all costs. They must therefore submit to the German demands, until they are joined by other nations, who will surely revolt under the pressure of the world war."

Finally, on Feb. 23, the Germans, through Foreign Secretary Kühlmann, announced that they were prepared to make a new offer of peace imposing new and more drastic terms than the previous offer, and added the condition that this offer must be accepted in forty-eight hours and must be signed within three days and ratified within two weeks.

LENINE FOR SURRENDER

All through the night the German offer was discussed at party meetings, the peace tendency growing gradually stronger. Premier Lenine in urging the acceptance of the new peace terms said:

The German reply offers peace terms still more severe than those of Brest-Litovsk. Nevertheless, I am absolutely convinced that to refuse to sign these terms is only possible to those who are intoxicated by revolutionary phrases. Up till now I have tried to impress on the members of the party the necessity of clearing their minds of revolutionary cant. Now I must do this openly, for unfortunately my worst forebodings have been justified.

Party workers in January declared war on revolutionary phrases, and said that a policy of refusal to sign a peace would perhaps satisfy the craving for effectiveness—and brilliance—but would leave out of account the objective correlation of

class forces and material factors in the present initial moment of the Socialist revolution. They further said that if we refused to sign the peace then proposed more crushing defeats would compel Russia to conclude a still more disadvantageous separate peace.

The event proved even worse than I anticipated, for our retreating army seems demoralized and absolutely refuses to fight. Only unrestrained phrasemaking can impel Russia at this moment and in these conditions to continue the war, and I personally would not remain a minute longer either in the Government or in the Central Committee of our party if the policy of phrasemaking were to prevail.

This new bitter truth has revealed itself with such terrible distinctness that it is impossible not to see it. All the bourgeoisie in Russia is jubilant at the approach of the Germans. Only a blind man or men infatuated by phrases can fail to see that the policy of a revolutionary war without an army is water in the bourgeois mill. In the bourgeois papers there is already exaltation in view of the impending overthrow of the Soviet Government by the Germans.

We are compelled to submit to a distressing peace. It will not stop revolution in Germany and Europe. We shall now begin to prepare a revolutionary army, not by phrases and exclamations, as did those who after Jan. 10 did nothing even to attempt to stop our fleeing troops, but by organized work, by the creation of a serious national, mighty army. * * *

Their knees are on our chest, and our position is hopeless. * * * This peace must be accepted as a respite enabling us to prepare a decisive resistance to the bourgeoisie and imperialists. The proletariat of the whole world will come to our aid. Then we shall renew the fight.

GERMAN TERMS ACCEPTED

The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets met in the early morning of the 24th, (Sunday,) and, swayed by Lenine, accepted the German terms by a majority of 112 against 84, 22 not voting. Trotzky was not present at the sitting. Thereupon the Petrograd authorities informed the German Government that a Russian representative was leaving for Dvinsk Sunday at noon, for the purpose of transmitting Russia's official reply to Germany's peace offer. A telegram, addressed "to all," announced that, "according to the decision of the Central Executive of the Soviets,

FIRST AID IN THE AMERICAN FRONT-LINE TRENCHES



American ambulance men rendering first aid to soldiers wounded in the trenches on one of the sectors now held by the American expeditionary force

(*) Committee on Public Information from Underwood & Underwood)

AMERICAN TROOPS IN FRANCE READY FOR A GAS ATTACK



A group of Americans in the front-line trenches on the Lorraine sector about to make a trench raid, equipped with masks as protection against an enemy gas attack

(© Committee on Public Information from Underwood & Underwood)

taken at 4:30 Sunday morning, [Feb. 24, 1918,] the Councils and People's Commissaries have decided to accept Germany's peace terms and will send a delegation to Brest-Litovsk." The Bolsheviks elected a new peace deputation, which included only one member of the former commission, and the envoys, accompanied by military and naval representatives, left for Brest-Litovsk to sign the pact. The delegates were M. Zinov'iev, President of the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates; M. Alekxiev, Acting Commissioner of Agriculture, and M. Sokol'koff.

Speaking before the Reichstag on Feb. 25, Count von Hertling, Imperial German Chancellor, declared that peace with Russia was well in sight. Prior to that, Count Czernin, Austrian Foreign Minister, informed the Russian Government that Austria-Hungary was ready, jointly with her allies, to bring the peace negotiations to the desired end. Nevertheless, the German Government gave no formal reply to the Russian acceptance of the peace terms and refused to grant the armistice which the Russians hoped would be automatically restored by Russia's surrender.

"Resistance becomes the principal task of the revolution," concluded the Russian official statement which announced the German refusal to grant an armistice. As the counter-revolutionary character of the German aggression became more manifest, and as one important base after another fell into their hands, the will to resist asserted itself more strongly and the peace mood rapidly waned.

NEW DEFENSE MOVEMENT

The Petrograd Soviet, which consisted mostly of Workmen's Delegates, took matters into its hands, and the city workers, especially the proletariat of Petrograd, became the backbone of the movement for the defense of the country and the revolution. Never since the March revolution had Petrograd and Moscow shown more signs of military activity. Detachments of Red Guards were being dispatched to the front and volunteers for the new revolutionary army hurriedly enrolled and drilled. It was re-

ported that fully nine-tenths of the workmen had enlisted in the "Red Army," and that the Viborg and Old Petrograd districts alone gave 90,000 volunteers. Other elements, moved by patriotism, joined the Bolsheviks, and young army officers of the bourgeoisie were seen at the head of Red battalions.

Presently the invasion ceased to be a mere military promenade. The first serious resistance the Germans encountered was at Pskov, sixty-five miles southeast of Petrograd, on Feb. 26. The following day the Teutons were forced by the Russians to retire near Orsha. But on the same day Pskov was occupied by the Germans, and Petrograd was declared to be in a state of siege. The allied representatives left Petrograd at this time, and the Bolshevik Government began the removal of the State archives to Moscow.

The work of the Red Army was greatly hampered by the regular troops, which refused to fight, and fled in panic, looting and pillaging the towns they traversed. The Soviet detachments had the double task of disarming the demoralized soldiers and of fighting the aggressors. They fought doggedly, knowing that the Germans would give them no quarter. According to a Bolshevik statement, the Germans announced that all the Red Guards would be hanged or shot. Another proclamation issued by the People's Commissaries declared that the invaders were arresting the Soviets, and concluded with these words: "May the blood shed in this unequal struggle fall 'on the heads of the German Socialists, 'who are allowing the German workmen to be ranked among the Cains and 'Judases."

In addition to these activities, the Bolsheviks were also carrying on war against the Cossacks and Ukrainians in the south. They defeated Kaledin's forces and occupied Rostov-on-Don and Novocherkassk. They also engaged the rearguard of Kornilov's troops, and assisted the Ukrainian Bolsheviks.

On March 2 the Petrograd Government received from the Russian peace delegation at Brest-Litovsk a dispatch asking for a train to Toroshaets, "es-

corted by a sufficiently large force." How this message was interpreted by the Bolshevik authorities is seen from the following communication sent by Lenin to all the councils:

This message most probably signifies that the peace negotiations have been broken off by the Germans. We must be ready for an immediate German advance on Petrograd and on all fronts. It is necessary that all the people rise and strengthen the measures for defense.

Lenin was mistaken. A later message presented the situation in a different light. It appeared that the envoys had resolved to sign the peace treaty without discussing its contents, in view of the fact that further deliberations might only make matters worse and that the Germans refused to cease military operations until the pact was duly signed. Therefore the delegation asked for a train, expecting to leave immediately upon signing the treaty.

By March 3, when the Germans announced that their advance had ceased on account of the signing of the peace treaty, they reported the capture of 6,800 Russian officers, 57,000 men, 2,400 guns, 5,000 machine guns, motor vehicles, 800 locomotives, and enormous quantities of munitions and supplies. Reval, Dorpat, and Narva were occupied; also Pskov, Polotsk, and Borissoff; Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, was in their possession, and practically all of Russia lying west of a line beginning at Narva on the Gulf of Finland, seventy miles west of Petrograd and running almost due south to Kiev. It placed under German domination the provinces of Russian Poland, Lithuania, Esthonia, and Livonia; the outlying islands in the Gulf of Finland were later occupied. [The text of the treaty will be found following this article.]

The new treaty dispossessed Russia of territories amounting to nearly one-quarter of the area of European Russia and inhabited by one-third of Russia's total population. In addition to Finland, Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland, a portion of Trans-Caucasia, lying at the southeast of the Black Sea, was ceded. This territory, the fruit of four wars waged against Turkey, is 20,000 square miles in area and

contains a million population. If the new treaty concessions remain in force after the war, the great Russian Empire will be reduced practically to the size of the mediaeval Principality of Muscovy.

GERMANY'S PEACE TERMS

The humiliating terms of peace imposed on Russia by the Central Powers were formally accepted by the Bolshevik Government at a meeting of the Pan-Soviet Congress held at Moscow on March 14-16, 1918. The action was taken under the influence of the Premier, Nikolai Lenin, and over the protest of the Foreign Minister, Leon Trotsky, who had been the chief figure in the original negotiations at Brest-Litovsk.

The peace treaty accepted by the Bolshevik delegates under German pressure at Brest-Litovsk on March 3, of which an official summary is printed in succeeding pages, provided that ratification was required within a fortnight. Trotsky opposed the treaty and was not a delegate at the final peace conference. He was displaced as Foreign Minister on account of his opposition to the treaty, being succeeded by M. Tchitcherin. Trotsky did not attend the Pan-Soviet Congress at Moscow. He was made Chairman of the newly created Government of Petrograd known as the Petrograd Labor Commune, which in turn was controlled by the Petrograd Workmen's and Soldiers' Council "for safeguarding revolutionary order and protecting the city from the enemy." It was stated at the Soviet Congress by one of the delegates opposing the treaty that this pact contained a secret clause making Petrograd a "free city."

CONGRESS OF SOVIETS

The congress was held in the Banquet Hall of the Nobility Club at Moscow, where former Emperors often were entertained. The Bolshevik Government, removing its offices from Petrograd to Moscow, had reached the latter city March 11. Lenin brought with him all the Government officials and State archives, and proclaimed Moscow the capital city, a distinction which it had last enjoyed 215 years before, when

Peter the Great had removed his Government from Moscow to the new city at the mouth of the Neva.

The Pan-Soviet Congress numbered 1,164 delegates, the majority being soldiers, sailors, and workmen drawn largely from Bolshevik constituencies, principally in European Russia's industrial centres, with very few delegates representing the peasants, the so-called bourgeoisie, (merchants, manufacturers, and business men,) or the professional classes; of the 1,164 delegates 732 were outspoken followers of Lenine; there were thirty-eight Social Revolutionaries, representing the moderate Socialists. M. Sverdloff, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Congress, presided.

Premier Lenine made the principal speech in favor of ratifying the treaty, which had previously been indorsed by a caucus of the Bolsheviks by almost unanimous vote.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S MESSAGE

A telegram from President Wilson was read at the opening session. It was as follows:

"May I not take advantage of the meeting of the Congress of the Soviets to express the sincere sympathy which the people of the United States feel for the Russian people at this moment when the German power has been thrust in to interrupt and turn back the whole struggle for freedom and substitute the wishes of Germany for the purpose of the people of Russia?"

"Although the Government of the United States is, unhappily, not now in a position to render the direct and effective aid it would wish to render, I beg to assure the people of Russia through the congress that it will avail itself of every opportunity to secure for Russia once more complete sovereignty and independence in her own affairs and full restoration to her great rôle in the life of Europe and the modern world."

"The whole heart of the people of the United States is with the people of Russia in the attempt to free themselves forever from autocratic government and become the masters of their own life."

(Signed) "WOODROW WILSON."

Washington, March 11, 1918.

The message was telegraphed to the American Consul General at Moscow for delivery to the congress.

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, sent the following cablegram:

To the All-Russian Soviet, Moscow:

We address you in the name of world liberty. We assure you that the people of the United States are pained by every blow at Russian freedom, as they would be by a blow at their own. The American people desire to be of service to the Russian people in their struggle to safeguard freedom and realize its opportunities. We desire to be informed as to how we may help.

We speak for a great organized movement of working people who are devoted to the cause of freedom and the ideals of democracy. We assure you also that the whole American Nation ardently desires to be helpful to Russia and awaits with eagerness an indication from Russia as to how help may most effectively be extended.

To all those who strive for freedom we say: Courage! Justice must triumph if all free people stand united against autocracy! We await your suggestions.

American Alliance for Labor and Democracy.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President.

Cablegrams of similar import were sent by a large convention of Russian workmen held in New York, and by the American Security League.

President Wilson's message was read at the opening session of the congress. On the next day the congress adopted the following resolution in reply:

The congress expresses its gratitude to the American people, above all to the laboring and exploited classes of the United States, for the sympathy expressed to the Russian people by President Wilson through the Congress of Soviets in the days of severe trials.

The Russian Socialistic Federative Republic of Soviets takes advantage of President Wilson's communication to express to all peoples perishing and suffering from the horrors of imperialistic war its warm sympathy and firm belief that the happy time is not far distant when the laboring masses of all countries will throw off the yoke of capitalism and will establish a socialistic state of society, which alone is capable of securing just and lasting peace as well as the culture and well-being of all laboring people.

In presenting the cablegram the Chairman said:

Comrades, allow me, in the name of the congress, to express my firm belief that the wide masses of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat of Western Europe, as well as of America and Australia, are with us with all their hearts. Allow me to express my firm belief that these masses are watching with the closest attention the struggle which we are carrying on here in Russia, and I will permit myself to submit to your attention the resolution which was adopted by the presiding body of the Central Executive Committee in answer to President Wilson's address to the congress.

The telegram of the President of the American Federation of Labor was read to the congress and received with applause, but no action regarding it was taken. The Chairman announced that the message sent to the American people as the reply to President Wilson was sufficient.

RATIFYING THE TREATY

The congress, after a three days' session, adjourned March 16, having approved the removal of the capital to Moscow and elected a new Central Executive Committee of 200 members. No official report of the proceedings had been given out up to the time this record was closed, (March 20.) The impression conveyed by the semi-official reports was that the Bolsheviks ostensibly persisted in their belief that their revolutionary movement would so infect Germany and Austria as to cause the people of those countries to prevent the execution of the onerous terms of the treaty and enable the Bolsheviks to complete their revolutionary program.

The vote in the congress on ratifying the treaty stood 704 to 261. Two Bolshevik Commissaries—Debenko and Koltantai—and four Social Revolutionaries—Steinberg, Kalagaieff, Karelin, and Broshian—resigned from the Bolshevik Cabinet when the result was announced. It was asserted that the full provisions of the treaty were not made public, (the published terms appear on Page 54,) and it was charged that Germany had exacted an indemnity of 9,000,000,000 rubles, and that secret economic provisions gave Germany complete mastery of the former Russian Empire.

The Bolsheviks changed the name of their party on March 16 to the "Communist Party."

VON HERTLING DEFENDS TREATY

Chancellor von Hertling, on the first reading in the Reichstag of the peace treaty with Russia, March 19, declared that he did not wish to discuss the opinions of Germany's enemies. He continued:

Hypocrisy has become second nature to the enemy, whose untruthfulness is made worse by its brutality. Every attempt at calm explanation and every real deliberation must fail, when the enemy, at the very moment he is laying a heavy hand on a neutral country, dares to speak of a policy guided by complete unselfishness. The treaty with Russia contains no conditions disgraceful to Russia, if the provinces breaking away from Russia say it is in accordance with their own wish and the wish is accepted by Russia.

The Chancellor declared that Courland and Lithuania were united to Germany politically, economically, and militarily, and added:

Livonia and Esthonia are the eastern frontier fixed by the treaty, but we hope that they also will have close and friendly relations with Germany; not, however, to the exclusion of their friendly relations with Russia. Poland is not mentioned in the treaty, and we shall endeavor to see if it is possible to live in stable and good-neighborly relations with the new State.

If the Reichstag adopts the treaty, peace on the whole eastern front will be restored, as I announced Feb. 24; but among the Entente Powers there is not the least inclination to finish this terrible war. The responsibility for bloodshed will be upon the heads of those who wish continuation of the bloodshed.

NEGOTIATIONS REVIEWED

The Chancellor referred to Russia's proposal that all the belligerents enter into the peace negotiations, and added:

We and our allies accepted the proposals and sent delegates to Brest-Litovsk. The powers until then allied with Russia remained aloof. The course of the negotiations is known to you. You remember the endless speeches, which were intended not so much for the delegates there assembled as for the public at large, and which caused the desired goal of an understanding to recede into the distance. You remember the repeated interruptions, the rupture and the resumption of the negotiations. The

point had been reached where "yes" or "no" had to be said, and on March 3 peace was concluded at Brest-Litovsk. On March 16 it was ratified by a competent assembly at Moscow.

If in the telegram from Washington it was thought fit to express to the Congress assembled at Moscow the sympathy of the United States at a moment when, as it says, the German power obtruded itself, in order to bring success to the battle for freedom, then I put that calmly aside with the rest. * * *

We have not for a moment contemplated, and do not contemplate, opposing the justified wishes and endeavor of Russia to be liberated. As I said on Nov. 29, we desire for that sorely tried land a speedy return to a peaceful and orderly state of affairs, and we deeply deplore the terrible conditions which have made their appearance in many places.

Among the Entente there is not the slightest inclination to abandon the war, but rather the intention is manifested to continue this terrible combat till we are destroyed. We shall not lose courage on that account, for we are prepared for everything. We are prepared to make further sacrifices and stand firm as a rock in our confidence in our splendid army leadership and our heroic soldiers.

NO DISHONOR IN TREATY

Discussing the Russian treaty, the Chancellor said:

It contains no conditions whatever which dishonor Russia, no mention of oppressive war indemnities, no forcible appropriations of Russian territory. A number of the border States have severed their connection with the Russian State in accordance with their own will, which was recognized by Russia. In regard to these States we adopt the standpoint formerly expressed by me, that under the mighty protection of the German Empire they can give themselves political form corresponding with their situation and the tendency of their kultur, while at the same time, of course, we are safeguarding our own interests.

In recognizing the independence of Courland the Chancellor said he thankfully and joyfully had taken cognizance of Courland's "desire to lean on the German Empire, which, indeed, corresponds to the old cultural relations." He added that he expected a deputation from Lithuania within the next few days, after which Lithuania would likewise be recognized as an independent State. In Livonia and Esthonia things were different. Under the peace treaty these countries would be policed by Germany,

on their own invitation, until security was guaranteed and order restored.

The moment for a new political orientation will then have come for these countries, [the Chancellor went on.] We hope and desire that they, too, will place themselves in close and friendly relationship to the German Empire, but in such a way that this does not exclude peaceable, friendly relations with Russia.

FINLAND AND UKRAINE

While the congress was ratifying the treaty, the German invasion of Finland and the Austro-German invasion of the Ukraine continued uninterruptedly. On March 20 the invaders were in possession of Odessa, Kiev, and all the principal cities in the Ukraine, and were within 200 miles of Moscow. The Turks recovered Trebizond and Erzerum in Asia Minor, and were in full possession of Trans-Caucasia, thus giving the Central Powers complete control of the Black Sea.

The invasion of Ukraine by the Germans after the signing of the peace treaty Feb. 9 was excused on the pretext that the step was taken at the request of the faction of Ukrainians opposed to the Bolsheviks.

INVITING GERMAN INVASION

It was announced on Feb. 17 that the delegation representing the anti-Bolshevik Ukrainians had handed to the German Government the following declaration:

To the German People: On Feb. 9 this year we signed, in the deep and ardent desire to live in peace and friendship with our neighbors, a peace treaty with the States of the Quadruple Alliance in order to put an end to this useless and fratricidal war, and we united all our strength to one end, namely, to establish and insure the life of our own independent State.

The joyful news of Feb. 9, however, for which the working masses of our people so greatly longed, has brought us no peace in our land. The enemy of our freedom has invaded our country for the purpose once more, as 254 years ago, to subjugate the Ukrainian people with fire and sword. The Russian Maximalists, who, a month ago, dispersed the All-Russian Constitutional Assembly in Petrograd, consisting almost solely of Socialists, have now undertaken, as they call it, a holy war against the Socialists of the Ukraine.

From the north hired bands of Red Guards are falling upon our country. They unite themselves with Russian soldiers who have deserted from the front and with liberated jailbirds. Under the experienced command of former police gendarmes, they force their way into our towns; have our public men and leaders of public opinion shot; they levy contributions from the inhabitants, and, after destroying and burning our towns, they pass on, seeking new booty.

This barbaric invasion of our northern neighbors once again, under hypocritical pretexts, sets up as its aim, as earlier in our history, the destruction of the independence of our State. Its real and ultimate objects lie, however, in the ignoble intentions and machinations of those who have an interest in seeing anarchy reign in the Ukraine, as also of those who are striving after the return of the old despotism.

Before the whole world we declare that the Petrograd Commissioners of the People lie when they talk about a rising of the people in the Ukraine, and that they lie when they describe the Central Rada, the Parliament of the Ukrainian People's Republic, which consists of Ukrainian Socialists and has carried out far-reaching social-democratic reforms, as a Rada of bourgeois.

The Petrograd Commissioners, who with words only have stubbornly defended the weal of the Ukraine, Poland, Courland, and other peoples, have made use of a fine pose at Brest-Litovsk to recall from the front the remnants of the Russian Army for the purpose of secretly throwing them against the Ukraine to rob us, to send our stocks of corn to the north, and to subjugate the country.

Now, when, after four years, the rigid wall has fallen which separated us from our western neighbors, we raise our voice to proclaim the misfortune of our people. We must see the fruits of our own young revolution in danger, and we fear for our newly won freedom. Sanguinary collisions with Russian bands take place daily. In Volhynia and at other points we are collecting new forces to oppose the swarms who are ever anew pressing in from the north.

In this hard struggle for our existence we look round for help. We are firmly convinced that the peaceful and order-loving German people will not remain indifferent when it learns of our distress. The German Army, that stands on the flank of our northern enemy, possesses the power to help us and, by its intervention, to protect the northern frontiers against further invasion by the enemy. This is what we have to say in this dark hour, and we know that our voice will be heard.

FINLAND'S PEACE TREATY

Fierce fighting between the Red Guards and the Finland Independents was in progress up to March 20. The Germans first occupied Aland Island and then pushed forward into the mainland.

On March 7 it was announced that a peace treaty had been signed between Finland and Germany. Article 1 declared that no state of war existed between Germany and Finland; that the contracting parties were resolved henceforth to live in peace and friendship, and that Germany would exert herself to secure recognition by all the powers of Finland's autonomy and independence. On the other hand, Finland would cede no portion of her territory to a foreign power nor grant such power any easement on territory over which she is sovereign without previously coming to an understanding with Germany on the subject. The other articles relate to the resumption of diplomatic and consular relations immediately after the ratification of the peace treaty, renunciation by each party of compensation for war costs and indemnities, restoration of State treaties and private rights, exchange of prisoners of war and interned civilians, and compensation for civil damages.

Those treaties between Germany and Russia which had ceased to be operative were to be replaced by new treaties corresponding to the altered conditions. In particular, negotiations were to begin immediately for a commercial treaty, and meanwhile trade relations were to be regulated between both countries by a trade and shipping agreement.

Respecting private rights, all military laws were to cease to be operative on ratification of the treaty. The relations of creditor and debtor were to be restored, and the payment of obligations, particularly public debt, would be resumed. A commission was to meet in Berlin for the purpose of fixing civil damages. It would be composed of representatives of both parties and neutral members, each to have a one-third representation. The President of Switzerland was to be requested to nominate neutral members, including the Chairman.



AREA IN BLACK SHOWS TERRITORIES WHICH RUSSIA HAS AGREED TO SURRENDER TO THE CENTRAL POWERS FOR DISPOSAL. IN EXTENT THESE PROVINCES ARE EQUAL TO THE WHOLE OF GERMANY AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Finnish prisoners of war in Germany and German prisoners in Finland were to be exchanged with all possible dispatch, and deported or interned civilian nationals of either side sent home.

Then followed stipulations concerning amnesty, return or compensation for merchant ships, &c.; for the settlement of questions relative to the Aland Islands, and providing that fortifications on the islands should be removed as

speedily as possible, and the permanent nonfortification of the islands regulated by special agreement.

Instruments of ratification were to be exchanged in Berlin as soon as possible. Four months after the ratification representatives of the contracting parties would meet in Berlin for the purpose of negotiating a supplementary treaty.

On March 14 it was announced that a number of Americans, including Henry

C. Emery, former Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, who sailed for Russia in 1916 as representative of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, had been arrested on Aland Island by the Germans. An attaché of the American Legation at Stockholm left for Finland on March 15 to lodge formal protest with the commander of the Finnish forces against the arrest. Sixteen Britishers in the same party were also arrested.

CROWN OFFERED TO KAISER

It was reported in German newspapers, March 15, that at a meeting of the State Council in Mitau it had been decided to offer the crown of Courland to the House of Hohenzollern. The Lettish representatives, according to the German newspapers, made the following declaration:

In voting for the proposition the

Lettish representatives express the desire of the Lettish people that Lettish parts of Balticum be not torn asunder but remain perpetually united. We also wish to emphasize that the Lettish people reject the idea of electing one of their own as Duke, but desire to have the German Kaiser and King of Prussia for monarch because they have the fullest confidence in his just and firm government.

The German Emperor replied to the offer in the following terms:

Receipt of the loyal greetings sent in the name of the Courland State Council has given me great pleasure. My heart is deeply moved and is filled with thanks to God that it has been granted me to save German blood and German culture from perishing. God bless your land, upon which German fidelity, German courage, and German perseverance have made their impress.

The "State Council" was created by the Germans in September, 1917, and consists of Barons, large land owners, and other members, all of the Germanic race.

Text of Treaty Signed by Russia

Germany's Exactions in Detail

THE following are the articles of the treaty of peace between Russia and the Central Powers, signed at Brest-Litovsk on March 3, 1918, by the respective plenipotentiaries:

Article 1. The Central Powers and Russia declare the state of war between them to be terminated, and are resolved henceforth to live in peace and friendship with one another.

Article 2. The contracting nations will refrain from all agitation or provocation against other signatory Governments and undertake to spare the populations of the regions occupied by the Powers of the Quadruple Entente.

Article 3. The regions lying west of the line agreed upon by the contracting parties, and formerly belonging to Russia, shall no longer be under Russian sovereignty. It is agreed that the line appears from the appended map, No. 1, which, as agreed upon, forms an essential part of the peace treaty. The fixing of the line in the west will be settled in the German-Russian mixed commission. The regions in question will have no obligation whatever toward Russia arising from their former relations thereto. Russia undertakes to refrain from all inter-

ference in the internal affairs of these territories and to let Germany and Austria determine the future fate of these territories in agreement with their populations.

Article 4. Germany and Austria agree, when a general peace is concluded and Russian demobilization is fully completed, to evacuate the regions east of the line designated in Article 3, No. 1, in so far as Article 6 does not stipulate otherwise. Russia will do everything in her power to complete as soon as possible the evacuation of the Anatolian provinces and their orderly return to Turkey. The districts of Erivan, Kars, and Batum will likewise without delay be evacuated by the Russian troops. Russia will not interfere in the reorganization of the constitutional or international conditions of these districts, but leave it to the populations of the districts to carry out the reorganization, in agreement with the neighboring States, particularly Turkey.

Article 5. Russia will without delay carry out the complete demobilization of her army, including the forces newly formed by the present Government. Russia will further transfer her warships to Russian harbors and leave them there until a general peace or immediately disarm. Warships of States continuing in a state of war with the Quad-

rupe Alliance will be treated as Russian warships in so far as they are within Russian control.

The barred zone in the arctic continues in force until the conclusion of peace. An immediate beginning will be made of the removal of mines in the Baltic and in so far as Russian power extends in the Black Sea. Commercial shipping is free in these waters and will be resumed immediately. A mixed commission will be appointed to fix further regulations, especially for the announcement of routes for merchant ships. Shipping routes are to be kept permanently free from floating mines.

Article 6. Russia undertakes immediately to conclude peace with the Ukrainian People's Republic and to recognize the peace treaty between this State and the powers of the Quadruple Alliance. Ukrainian territory will be immediately evacuated by the Russian troops and the Russian Red Guard. Russia will cease all agitation or propaganda against the Government or the public institutions of the Ukrainian People's Republic.

Esthonia and Livonia will likewise be evacuated without delay by the Russian troops and the Russian Red Guard.

The eastern frontier of Esthonia follows in general the line of the Narova River. The eastern frontier of Livonia runs in general through Peipus Lake and Pskov Lake to the southeasterly corner of the latter, then over Lubahner (Luban) Lake in the direction of Lievenhof, on the Dvina.

Esthonia and Livonia will be occupied by a German police force until security is guaranteed by their own national institutions and order in the State is restored. Russia will forthwith release all arrested or deported inhabitants of Esthonia and Livonia and guarantee the safe return of deported Esthonians and Livonians.

Finland and the Aland Islands will also forthwith be evacuated by the Russian troops and the Red Guard, and Finnish ports by the Russian fleet and Russian naval forces.

So long as the ice excludes the bringing of Russian warships to Prussian ports only small detachments will remain behind on the warships. Russia is to cease all agitation or propaganda against the Government or the public institutions in Finland.

The fortifications erected on the Aland Islands are to be removed with all possible dispatch. A special agreement is to be made between Germany, Russia, Finland, and Sweden regarding the permanent nonfortification of these islands, as well as regarding their treatment in military, shipping, and technical respects. It is agreed that at Germany's desire the other States bordering on the Baltic are also to be given a voice in the matter.

Article 7. Starting from the fact that Persia and Afghanistan are free and independent States, the contracting parties undertake to respect their political and economic independence and territorial integrity.

Article 8. Prisoners of war of both sides will be sent home.

Article 9. The contracting parties mutually renounce indemnification of their war costs—that is to say, State expenditure for carrying on the war, as well as indemnification for war damages—that is to say, those damages which have arisen for them and their subjects in the war regions through military measures, inclusive of all requisitions undertaken in the enemy country.

Article 10. Diplomatic and Consular relations between the contracting parties will be resumed immediately after notification of the peace treaty. Special agreements are reserved relative to the admittance of the respective Consuls.

Article 11. The prescriptions contained in Appendices 2 to 5 shall govern the economic relations between the powers of the Quadruple Alliance and Russia—namely, Appendix 2 for German-Russian, Appendix 3 for Austro-Hungarian-Russian, Appendix 4 for Bulgarian-Russian, and Appendix 5 for Turkish-Russian relations.

Article 12. The restoration of public and private relations, the exchange of prisoners of war, interned civilians, the amnesty question, as well as the treatment of merchant ships which are in enemy hands will be regulated by separate treaties with Russia, which shall form an essential part of the present peace treaty, and as far as is feasible shall enter into force at the same time.

Article 13. For the interpretation of this treaty the German and Russian text is authoritative for the relations between Germany and Russia; for the relations between Austria-Hungary and Russia, the German, Hungarian, and Russian text; for the relations between Bulgaria and Russia, the Bulgarian-Russian text; for the relations between Turkey and Russia, the Turkish and Russian text.

Article 14. The present peace treaty will be ratified. Instruments of ratification must be exchanged as soon as possible in Berlin. The Russian Government undertakes at the desire of one of the Quadruple Alliance powers to exchange ratifications within two weeks. The peace treaty enters into force on its ratification, in so far as its articles, appendices, or supplementary treaties do not prescribe otherwise.

The signatures of the plenipotentiaries

are attached. The treaty was drawn up in quintuple form at Brest-Litovsk on March 3, 1918.

The semi-official Wolff Bureau of Berlin stated that the trade and political questions to which Article 11 refers were to be regulated according to the

demands of the German ultimatum and analogously to the Ukrainian treaty. The legal and political agreements correspond substantially to the proposals which were submitted at the first sitting by Germany on the basis of its ultimatum.

Allies Denounce Russian Treaties

Protest of Premiers and Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, France and Italy

The following statement was issued March 18 through the British Foreign Office:

The Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of the Entente, assembled in London, feel it to be their bounden duty to take note of the political crimes which, under the name of a German peace, have been committed against the Russian people.

Russia was unarmed. Forgetting that for four years Germany had been fighting against the independence of nations and the rights of mankind, the Russian Government in a mood of singular credulity expected to obtain by persuasion that "democratic peace" which it had failed to obtain by war.

The results were that the intermediate armistice had not expired before the German command, though pledged not to alter the disposition of its troops, transferred them en masse to the western front, and so weak did Russia find herself that she dared to raise no protest against this flagrant violation of Germany's plighted word.

What followed was of like character, when "the German peace" was translated into action. It was found to involve the invasion of Russian territory, the destruction or capture of all Russia's means of defense, and the organization of Russian lands for Germany's profit—a proceeding which did not differ from "annexation" because the word itself was carefully avoided.

Meanwhile, those very Russians who had made military operations impossible found diplomacy impotent. Their representatives were compelled to proclaim that, while they refused to read the treaty presented to them, they had no choice but to sign it; so they signed it, not knowing whether in its true significance it meant peace or war, nor measuring the degree to which Russian national life was reduced by it to a shadow.

For us of the Entente Governments the judgment which the free peoples of the world will pass on these transactions would never be in doubt. Why waste time over Germany's pledges, when we see that at no period in her history of conquest—not when she overran Silesia nor when she partitioned Poland—has she exhibited herself so cynically as a destroyer of national independence, the implacable enemy of the rights of man and the dignity of civilized nations.

Poland, whose heroic spirit has survived the most cruel of national tragedies, is threatened with a fourth partition, and to aggravate her wrongs devices by which the last trace of her independence is to be crushed are based on fraudulent promises of freedom.

What is true of Russia and Poland is no less true of Rumania, overwhelmed like them in a flood of merciless passion for domination.

Peace is loudly advertised, but under the disguise of verbal professions lurk the brutal realities of war and the untempered rule of a lawless force.

Peace treaties such as these we do not and can not acknowledge. Our own ends are very different. We are fighting, and mean to continue fighting, in order to finish once for all with this policy of plunder and to establish in its place the peaceful reign of organized justice.

As incidents of this long war unroll themselves before our eyes, more and more clearly do we perceive that the battles for freedom are everywhere interdependent; that no separate enumeration of them is needed, and that in every case the single but all-sufficient appeal is to justice and right.

Are justice and right going to win? In so far as the issue depends on battles yet to come the nations whose fate is in the balance may surely put their trust in the armies, which, even under conditions more difficult than the present, have shown themselves more than equal to the great cause intrusted to their valor.

Meetings of the Supreme War Council and important political conferences under the Presidency of Premier David Lloyd George were held in Downing Street Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. They were attended by the Premiers of France and Italy and other Ministers, with their military and expert advisers.

Rumania Forced to Make Peace

Terms of Preliminary Treaty Signed at Bucharest After Ultimatum From Central Powers

A PRELIMINARY peace treaty between Rumania and the Central Powers was signed March 5, 1918, at Bucharest. The signatures appended were those of Foreign Secretary von Kühlmann for Germany; Foreign Secretary Czernin for Austria-Hungary; M. Montschiloff, Vice President of the Sobranje, for Bulgaria; Talat Pasha, the Grand Vizier, for Turkey, and M. Carantojana for Rumania.

The treaty was forced by an ultimatum, which was first sent to the Rumanian Government at Jassy by Field Marshal von Mackensen on Feb. 6, demanding that peace negotiations be begun in four days. The Rumanian Cabinet immediately resigned, and a new Cabinet was formed, headed by General Averescu. The situation of Rumania was desperate, and after fruitless negotiations the terms imposed by the Central Powers were accepted. The only alternative left to the country, if the conditions were refused, was to submit to seizure by the Central Powers and complete extinction as an independent State.

A Crown Council was held by the Rumanian Government on March 5, after receipt of a second ultimatum, which gave the kingdom twenty-four hours to accept the German terms or be wiped out. The collapse of Russia had completely isolated the smaller State, and it was felt that no other course was left except to bow to the inevitable. Former Premier Bratiano declared that no nation could accept terms so humiliating, but he declined King Ferdinand's request to as-

sume his former position as head of the Cabinet and accept the responsibility for refusing Germany's terms.

The terms of the preliminary treaty, as reported from Bucharest, were as follows:

I.—Rumania cedes to the Central Allied Powers Dobrudja as far as the Danube.

II.—The powers of the Quadruple Alliance will provide and maintain a trade route for Rumania by way of Constanza to the Black Sea.

III.—The rectifications demanded by Austria-Hungary on the frontier between Austria-Hungary and Rumania are accepted in principle by Rumania.

IV.—Economic measures corresponding to the situation are conceded in principle.

V.—The Rumanian Government undertakes to demobilize immediately at least eight divisions of the Rumanian Army. Control of the demobilization will be undertaken jointly by the upper command of Field Marshal von Mackensen's army group and the Rumanian chief army command. As soon as peace is restored between Russia and Rumania the remaining parts of the Rumanian Army also will be demobilized in so far as they are not required for security service on the Russo-Rumanian frontier.

VI.—The Rumanian troops are to evacuate immediately the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy occupied by them.

VII.—The Rumanian Government undertakes to support with all its strength the transport of troops of the Central Powers through Moldavia and Bessarabia to Odessa.

VIII.—Rumania undertakes immediately to dismiss the officers of the powers who are at war with the Quadruple Alliance still in the Rumanian service. The safe conduct of these officers is assured by



MAP OF RUMANIA: SHADED AND CROSS-HATCHED PORTIONS ARE THOSE TAKEN BY CENTRAL POWERS. THE CROSS-HATCHED PART OF DOBRUDJA WAS CEDED TO RUMANIA BY BULGARIA IN 1913. "A" AND "B" INDICATE POINTS WHERE FURTHER "RECTIFICATIONS" OF BOUNDARY ARE PROPOSED

the Quadruple Alliance. This treaty enters into operation immediately.

It was agreed that the armistice between Rumania and the Central Powers should run for fourteen days from midnight of March 5, with a period of three days for denunciation. Complete agreement was reached between the signatories that the final peace should be concluded within this period on the basis of the preliminary treaty.

Under the peace terms Rumania not only will have to give up Dobrudja, lose control of the Danube, and endure other great economic sacrifices, but she will be compelled to yield to Germany large wheat, petroleum, and salt concessions. It is understood that Germany will have control of the Rumanian railways for a period of fifteen years and will have possession of the four principal fortified passes through the Carpathians.

All German goods are to enter Rumania free of duty, while all Rumanian goods will go into Germany under the old tariff, with the exception of certain reductions.

Bulgaria will have nominal control of the Dobrudja, which gives the Central Powers command of the mouth of the Danube. At the other end of the Black Sea lies Batum, the western terminus of the Trans-Caucasian Railway, which runs through Tiflis to Baku, and the oil fields on the Caspian Sea. From Baku is another important Asian railway, the Trans-Caspian, which runs from Krasnovodsk, through Bami, Merv, Bokhara, and Samarkand to Tashkend and Ferg-hana. From Merv is a railway running down to Herat, Afghanistan, which was long known as the "Key to India." In the new terms imposed upon Russia, that country is required by the Central Pow-

ers to give up the region through which the Trans-Caucasian Railway runs.

Thus, with the Batum-Baku region passing from Russia to Turkey and the Dobrudja passing from Rumania to Bulgaria, the Central Powers would control a new route to India, Persia, and the provinces in Central Asia, regardless of whether they controlled the Bagdad Railway route or not.

After the signing of the preliminary peace treaty the Central Powers made

further demands. On March 13 one of these was made by Austria for a further "rectification" of the boundary between Rumania and Austria-Hungary, which will alienate a further strip from Rumania and add it to Austrian territory.

It was reported on March 13 that the allied diplomatic missions, the American Red Cross representatives, and the American Military Attaché in Rumania had left for Odessa on March 9; they reached Moscow on March 17.

The Modern Grenadier and His Grenades

Most Used of All Trench Weapons

Georges Bourrey, a French writer, telling in Les Annales the story of the various implements of modern war, gives this lucid account of the latest models and methods in the use of grenades. Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

WAR in its present form causes the infantryman to need his rifle sometimes, his working tools daily, and his grenades every minute. Though he is a fighter, he is also a workman. With trench warfare now adopted on all fronts, we no longer see serried columns of infantry rushing to the charge, with bayonets fixed, flags streaming, and bugles sounding. The subterranean evolution of the war of position has gradually brought the lines of opposing infantry closer together, until they are separated only by a few hundreds—or a few tens—of yards. Thus a closer and closer contact of the belligerents has been established within the protection of their respective trenches.

It is readily understood that in seeking to hit the enemy thus protected, and burrowing deeper every day, the direct fire of the rifle has become ineffective. It has become necessary to use arms with a plunging fire, which can drop projectiles into the enemy trenches. This result is obtained by the throwing—in a curved trajectory—of special projectiles, such as hand grenades or rifle grenades; it has thus become possible to annihilate the defenders of trenches.

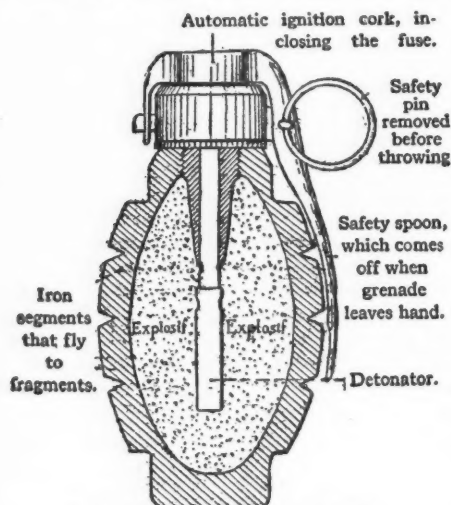
The grenade is beyond question the projectile best suited to short-distance fighting. Hurling by the powerful muscles of a soldier or by the explosion of a

cartridge, it is sure to strike pretty close as it "bounds" from one trench to the other. After the laborious gropings of the early days of the war, a grenade of unique type was adopted, embodying numerous improvements due to the hard lessons of war. It is a far cry from this modern grenade to the one with a fuse employed by the grenadiers in the latter part of the seventeenth century. That primitive weapon, indeed, had quickly been abandoned in the eighteenth century, leaving only its name to be borne by the crack regiments of French infantry—the famous Grenadiers of the Grand Army. Nevertheless, its tradition still survived in the modern army of France, which kept the grenade as the insignia and emblem of its infantry.

The present hand grenade, made of cast iron for the defensive, of composition metal for the offensive, is ovoid in form and is exploded by an automatic device. It no longer explodes at the point of contact, by percussion, as did the primitive models; on the contrary, it goes off while still in the air, a few seconds after leaving the hand of the thrower. The ingenious arrangement of the automatic detonating apparatus prevents it from exploding as long as it remains in the grenadier's hand. This important improvement has made it possible to prevent premature explosions and to avoid

the accidents that were always to be feared in the handling of the old grenades before the invention of the automatic detonating device.

Today every infantryman, whether private or officer, must be able to throw grenades with power and precision. Grenades, indeed, play an essential part



FRENCH HAND GRENADE

in offense, paralyzing the enemy, overwhelming him with a hail of projectiles and deadly explosives, and "cleaning out" deep underground shelters when thrown in at the top. The explosive contains suffocating, tear-producing, or incendiary gases, which are at times as effective as the flying fragments. In defense, when hurled with rapidity, coolness, and precision, the grenade keeps the assailant out of the trenches he is attacking, holds him at a respectful distance, and defends the approaches of machine-gun blockhouses and officers' posts.

Our soldiers are now past masters in the art of hurling this deadly device to distances of thirty-five or forty yards, and even a little further. Forty yards, however, is practically the limit for hand grenades. Beyond that distance they must be thrown by more powerful means. The simplest method is by means of the ordinary rifle. At first the soldiers were supplied with grenades mounted on sticks that could be inserted in the barrel of

the rifle or carbine, and the missiles were fired by means of a special cartridge that contained no bullet. This system has now been abandoned, both by the French and by the British, because of the inconveniences it entails—the need of special cartridges, the deterioration of the inside of the gun barrel, &c.

The latest model of the rifle grenade, of the type of the "V. B.," is cylindrical in form and has the advantage of causing little inconvenience, being fired with an ordinary cartridge. This is done by means of a simple device which is easily attached to the muzzle of the gun. It is a stout cylindrical affair, into which the grenade is inserted. The whole, when ready for action, resembles the ancient bell-mouthed blunderbuss which the brigands of Calabria made famous. Thanks to this ingenious invention, a rifle, pointed into the air at an angle of 45 degrees, can throw a grenade weighing a pound to a distance of more than 200 yards. When the cartridge is fired, the ignition of the fusing composition in the grenade is produced automatically by the passage of the bullet, and the grenade falls at a steep angle into the enemy trench, where it bursts into innumerable fragments.

This kind of plunging fire, when well directed, demoralizes the enemy and inflicts losses often comparable with those produced by shellfire. Permanently mounted on tripods, these curious weapons are continuously pointed at the enemy trenches and sharpshooters' posts, and the slightest movement there is followed by the firing of grenades at the point on which the guns are trained.

In defensive work the use of rifle grenades helps to establish powerful barrages at short distances, stopping an attack where the artillery would be helpless for barrage fire on account of the closeness of the combatants.

For lengthening the range of grenade fire still more the armies use little howitzers, ordinarily operated by means of compressed air or gas, which hurl—without smoke or noise—projectiles weighing more than a pound, and consequently containing a stronger explosive charge. These, however, may more properly be classed with the trench artillery.

The Brest-Litovsk Debates

Verbatim Report of the Crucial Session That Preceded Germany's New Invasion of Russia

The decisive session of the Brest-Litovsk peace conference between the Central Powers and the Russian Bolshevik Government was the one held on Feb. 9, 1918. It was at this session that each side summed up its arguments, and that the German delegates stated their final demands. On the same day the delegates from the Ukraine were signing a separate peace elsewhere in Brest-Litovsk. The following day Trotzky and his Bolshevik commission announced that they refused the German terms, supplementing the refusal with the declaration that they regarded the war between Russia and the Central Powers as ended without a formal peace treaty. The armistice continued seven days longer, and then the German Government announced that, as no peace treaty had been agreed to, the armistice was ended. At midnight on Feb. 18 the German armies resumed hostilities and began a rapid advance into Russia. The proceedings of the 9th, in which the whole issue had been traversed in detail, were reported verbatim, and the text of this report, as transmitted through the wireless stations of the Russian Government, is herewith placed on record.

Official Report of Proceedings of February 9, 1918

KUEHLMANN (German Foreign Secretary)—I open this session of the commission, which has been agreed upon. The representatives of the allied delegations are of the opinion that we have reached the point at which it is necessary to give an account of the negotiations. As we all know, these negotiations have been of a political character. The views of both sides were explained, before the Christmas postponement, in provisional formulas. The substance of these formulas has since been carefully examined at our debates. During these debates it became possible to state both points of view in greater detail. I shall beg you today, when we have to summarize briefly all that has been done, to forego any repetition of the discussions.

I regret to say that up to the present we have not succeeded in bringing together to any great extent the two points of view, in spite of all the debates. My task today is to summarize matters, and

I shall not indicate which party or which side is to be blamed for the negotiations not having been successfully concluded.

I am personally of opinion that any further discussions on either side are in the same position, and cannot give us more favorable results than those which have already been secured. It is beyond doubt that we cannot proceed with interminable discussions which have no promise of success.

Faithful to my principles during all the negotiations, I still hope that a free discussion of principles may bring us nearer to our goal, but I shall dispel all doubts, and I say that the circumstances at the moment are of such a character that we must reach a decision promptly. And, if I am again putting before you the political question in its full complexity, I desire to say that I hope the discussions will take place with the sincere wish to find a way to an agreement. In putting these questions again before you I only wish to tell you that I desire to see

them all connected up, the one with the other. The commissions have already discussed all the details, and an agreement upon the whole question should not present many difficulties. So far as the economic questions are concerned, the preparatory work of the commissions has not at present sufficiently progressed; nevertheless, I hope that in regard to these questions, during the short time which remains at our disposal, we shall reach some satisfactory agreement—satisfactory to both sides.

Count Czernin on Annexations

CZERNIN (Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister)—For a week we have been discussing whether we shall consider the territorial changes which have to be made in connection with the war as regards the self-determination of nations or not. Further discussions of the same character will certainly bring us no nearer to a settlement. But I would ask you whether such deliberations would not be calculated to bring us nearer to peace. The question now is not as to how these territorial changes are to be designated—changes which must take place—and we need not associate these questions with the conclusions of peace itself. I think that the past discussions have shown the different points of view qualifying the territorial changes which must take place, but they have not indicated that an agreement in these matters is impossible. Secretary of State von Kühlmann on Dec. 28 clearly stated what changes must take place. They concern Courland and Lithuania, parts of Livonia and Esthonia, and also Poland. Let us put aside the question as to how these proposed changes must be regarded. Let us try and clear up the point as to whether these disputed questions would form an obstacle to the conclusion of peace.

Trotsky on Self-Determination

TROTSKY (Russian Foreign Minister)—We also considered it necessary, after the last interval, (I am speaking of the postponement occasioned by us, and not of the postponement occasioned by the Austro-German delegations,) to sum up all our preceding work. The peace negotiations began with our declaration of Dec. 23 and the declaration of Dec. 25, by which the Quadruple Alliance replied to our declaration. These two statements formulated the object of the negotiations as being based upon the principle of self-determination of peoples. During a short interval, which could be measured by hours, it appeared that this principle, accepted by both sides, would serve as a means for the solution of these national and territorial questions as arising out of the war. But after an exchange of views on Dec. 27 it became clear that the appeal to this principle was of a character calculated only to complicate all other questions. The points of view of one side, namely, our side,

as applied by the other side, were a direct negation of the very principle itself. Afterward all the discussions took an entirely academic character, without any prospect of a practical settlement, because the opposite side was striving, with the aid of complicated logical manoeuvres, to draw from the principle of self-determination what, in their opinion, was in accordance with the true situation as disclosed by the military maps.

The question concerning the occupied regions, which was the principal theme of all the discussions, was reduced, after a number of sessions, to the question of the evacuation of these regions by the troops in occupation. To this principal question, in consequence of the nature of the discussion, it was only possible to reach a certain amount of clarity, and this only after great difficulties had been surmounted. The first formula of the other side, so far as we understood it—and we honestly tried to understand it—was as follows: Until the end of the war, so far as Germany was concerned and so far as Austria-Hungary was concerned, there could be no question of the evacuation of occupied territory on any front, owing to military considerations.

Our delegation later understood that the opposite side had now the intention of evacuating these occupied regions on the conclusion of a general peace, when the above-mentioned strategical considerations would have been put to one side.

Refusal to Withdraw Troops

This conclusion, however, also appeared to be wrong. The German and Austro-Hungarian Delegations have refused categorically to make a declaration which could force them to withdraw their troops from the occupied regions, with the exception of the small belt of territory which they proposed to return to Russia. The situation only then became clear. This clarity became, if possible, greater when General Hoffmann, in the name of both Delegations, proposed to us the frontier line which would in future separate Russia from its western neighbors, namely, from Germany and Austria-Hungary, because the separated regions were to be occupied by their troops for an indefinite period, unrestricted by any treaty.

We have already realized during the past discussions that if we were to trace the new frontier of Russia in accordance with the principle of self-determination, then we should have the best guarantee, under present conditions, against military aggression, because all the peoples on both sides of this frontier would be interested in maintaining it. The German conditions, and the policy which dictates them, entirely exclude any such kind of guarantees for peaceful relations between Russia on the one side and Germany and Austria-Hungary on the other.

The new frontier proposed by the other side is dictated by military and strategical con-

siderations, and from this point of view must be estimated not only the separation from Russia of Poland and Lithuania, but even the separation of the Lettish countries. If such had been the desire of the peoples of these regions, then no danger would arise for the safety of the Russian Republic. Friendly relations with these States, which had freely formed for themselves an independent existence, would follow as a natural consequence of their origin and of their conditions.

In such circumstances questions concerning the strategical character of the new frontiers would have for us no important significance. But these new frontiers which the opposite side proposes appear to us in a very different light. Germany and Austria-Hungary, while maintaining their troops in the occupied regions, are linking these regions to their States by railways and by other means, and for us the new frontier must thus be considered not as a frontier with Poland, Lithuania, and Courland, and so on, but as a frontier with Germany and Austria-Hungary. Both these States are seeking military expansion, as is clearly shown by their attitude toward the occupied regions.

A new question arises for us, therefore, as to what these independent States mean for the Russian Republic in the future. The dependence of these peoples upon these two States will place very near to Russia the new frontier within their territories proposed by Germany and Austria-Hungary. What are really the military conceptions of the other side when they ask for such a frontier? For the purpose of examining this new question from the point of view of the leading military institutions of the republic, I shall ask for the views of our military advisers.

The Ukraine Boundary

We have here to meet a fresh difficulty. We have heard nothing of that part of the new frontier which is to run to the south from Brest-Litovsk. The opposite side was of the opinion that this part of the frontier had to be established in discussion with the Delegation of the Kiev Rada. We have decided that, irrespective of the unestablished political state of Ukraine, there can be no question of a one-sided tracing of the frontier, based upon an agreement with the Rada alone; we declared that the consent of the Delegation of the Council of the People's Commissaries was also necessary. Subsequently, the political situation of Ukraine was defined by its entrance into the Federal Russian Republic. The delegation of the Central Powers, in spite of their declaration that they would examine the international position of the Ukraine after the conclusion of peace, has hurriedly recognized the independence of Ukraine, and, to wit, at the very moment when Ukraine entered the Russian Federation.

After this date events took place which

should have had a decisive influence upon these separate negotiations of the other side with the Kiev Rada. The latter fell under the blow of the Ukrainian Council. The fate of the Rada, inviolable in itself, was accelerated by the fact that the Rada, in its struggle for authority, made attempts, with the help of the Central Powers, to draw the Ukrainian people away from the Russian Federal Republic.

We officially informed the opposite side that the Ukrainian Rada was deposed, but, nevertheless, the negotiations with a non-existent Government have been continued. We proposed to the Austro-Hungarian Delegation, in a private conversation, it is true, but formally nevertheless, that they should send their representative to Ukraine with the object of seeing for himself that the Ukrainian Rada no longer existed, and that the negotiations with its delegation could not have any practical value. We understood that so far as the delegations of the Central Powers needed confirmation of facts they would postpone the signature of the peace treaty until the return of their representative from Ukraine. We have been informed that the signature to the peace treaty could not be postponed any longer. While negotiating with the Government of the Federal Russian Republic, the Governments of the Central empires not only, in spite of their former declaration, hurried to recognize the independence of the the Ukrainian Republic on Feb. 1, at the very moment when it declared itself to be a part of the Russian Federation, but is signing a treaty with a Government which, as we have categorically declared to the opposite side, does not exist any longer. Such conduct is creating doubts as to whether there is any sincerity of purpose on the side of the Central Powers for the establishment of peaceful relations with the Russian Federation. We are striving for peace now as in the beginning of the negotiations.

The whole conduct of the opposite side, as far as this question is concerned, is creating the impression that the Central Powers were striving to [words omitted—probably "make the situation impossible"] for the representatives of the Russian Republic. Only such a peace treaty will be binding for the Russian Federal Republic and its countries as will be signed by our delegation.

Concerning the question of frontiers, it can be discussed only as a whole, and only in such a way can we reach practical results. We ask the opposite side to complete on our map the frontier line which was submitted to us by General Hoffmann, [one of the German delegates.]

Sub-Commission on Boundaries

KUEHLMANN—If I am not replying to the detailed explanation of the preceding speaker, it is, as I have already stated today, with the purpose of avoiding every controversy. Accordingly, I shall not reply to the historical review of our negotiations.

They have become public; they can be studied and compared.

The preceding speaker examined for a long time the question of frontiers. I should not like to start the discussion of this question until I am sure that the proposal which I shall make to the opposite side will be accepted. The preceding speaker has already indicated that the discussion of this frontier is necessitating the participation of military advisers. I shall propose that the question of frontiers should be first submitted to a military sub-commission composed of one diplomatic representative and two military specialists—one for the navy and one for the army—for each side. I shall not participate personally in this sub-commission. I shall send to it one of my diplomatic collaborators. This sub-commission could be formed at the present session, and must prepare for our next session, tomorrow, a report concerning the results of its discussions. From the importance and difficulties of all these questions which the sub-commission has to clear up, it is obvious that the decisions of the sub-commission will have a decisive influence upon our further negotiations.

Our policy as regards the newly created States will always be directed toward the maintenance of friendly relations and non-intervention in their internal life as soon as this war is satisfactorily ended.

Peace With the Ukraine

That is all that I have to say concerning the frontiers. I hope that by the discussions in the sub-commission we shall have a report that will be beyond dispute for our session of tomorrow. Concerning the explanation of the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs of the relations between the Central Powers and the Ukraine, I have only to declare that information which has reached us—and the tendency of which is beyond doubt to us—is in direct opposition to the real facts, and we find it unnecessary to take it into consideration. The point of view of the Central Powers has been repeatedly stated here, and we are of the opinion that all further explanation is unnecessary.

The Central Powers have concluded today a peace with the representatives of the Central Rada, which they have recognized. The consequences for the Central Powers are obvious. At the present time, when the circumstances are such as we see them, we cannot expect a practical result from our negotiations. The opinions concerning the rights of the Ukrainian State and of its representatives, the reciprocal relations of it and of the Petrograd Government, they all are questions which do not concern us while we are concluding peace with Ukraine.

This is no hostile act against Russia. We have concluded with Ukraine no alliance, but only a peace treaty. Ukraine has not become to us an ally, but only a neutral

State. If we could arrive at a peace with Russia, Russia would also become a neutral State. In such a case our relations to Russia would be the same as they are now to Ukraine. There will be a difference if we are unable to come to an agreement with the Government of the People's Commissaries, because then, while we shall have to consider Ukraine as a neutral country, those regions which submit themselves to the authority of the Council of the People's Commissaries we shall have to consider as regions against which we are in a state of war. We are willing to avoid that by a conclusion of peace with Russia.

If we had ignored the Rada, as M. Trotzky wished, that would have meant that we should have to intervene in the internal life of Russia. And we will not do it. If we had not recognized Ukraine, we had, in fact, recognized the Council of the People's Commissaries as the only authority for the whole of the territories which composed the old Russian Empire. But we know that many countries are not willing to recognize the authority of the Council of the People's Commissaries. We are not arbiters in questions which concern only Russia herself. Our attitude is nonintervention.

We do not demand that the President of the Russian delegation should renounce his claim for the authority of the council for the whole of former Russia. We shall avoid the difficulties if we sign an eventual treaty concerning these regions which are under the authority of the Council of the People's Commissaries. How many regions such treaty would concern we cannot tell at the present. We know that such treaty would be concluded without knowing for which regions exactly it would be valid; but the situation which would be created would be more disagreeable for us than for the Government of the Russian Republic. Nevertheless, we agreed to do it for the sake of peace.

Concerning the question of the President of the Russian delegation upon the fate of the occupied regions, I refer him for a reply to my declaration, which was made in public before the last session of the Austrian delegation, and which, perhaps, is known by the gentlemen; to it I have nothing to add, because my point of view has not changed. * * * [Portion of message here missing.]

I cannot give a categorical reply as asked for by the President of the Russian delegation, but I gladly agree that a communication on this subject should be made to the subcommission.

CZERNIN—I agree completely with the preceding speaker, namely, that this question needs to be discussed by the Allies and that I do not see any reasonable objection why a reply could not be given to this question afterward.

TROTZKY—It has been said that there are not and can not be any reasonable objections

to a statement concerning the frontiers projected for this part of Russia, which, thanks to the energy and decision of the Ukrainian workmen, is now under the authority of the Ukrainian Councils. It seems to me that there can be no objection to the creation of a military technical sub-commission which will have to examine the question of frontiers if the project is submitted to that commission.

KUEHLMANN—I should be very much obliged to the President of the Russian delegation if he would give his views upon the details of the creation of the sub-commission as proposed by me. Then we could decide who shall take part in this sub-commission at this session.

TROTZKY—Before I give you a detailed reply I must have a consultation with my delegation. It will require but little time.

Russia Has No Choice

KUEHLMANN—I expect to have the reply today because, as I have already said, we need this preparatory work complete for our session of tomorrow. The representatives of the sub-commission could then have a day at their disposal for their labors. Our proposal has been known a long time. All the questions concerned have been discussed in detail, and I firmly believe that all arguments have been already used, and that now we have to bring them to a conclusion with a view to making a decision concerning our peace negotiations. I have already stated our proposal, which could in a certain degree replace the second clause of the projected peace treaty. This formula is as follows:

"Russia must agree to the following territorial changes which will enter into force after the ratification of the peace treaty: The regions between the frontiers of Germany and Austria-Hungary and the indicated line will not be in the future a dependency of Russia. As a result of their former adhesion to the Russian Empire no obligation will bind them to Russia. The further destiny of these regions will be settled in agreement with the peoples concerned, namely, on the basis of those agreements which have been concluded between them and Germany and Austria-Hungary."

In handing over this formula to the President of the Russian delegation, I state that an essential part of our proposal is in Clause 1, which we have already sufficiently discussed, and during these discussions no insurmountable obstacles have appeared * * * for the conclusion of peace.

I will give my point of view in a few words. It is as follows: The evacuation of certain regions was promised by us under the condition that at the same time the evacuation of regions taken from our allies should be carried out. At that time we considered, as the nearest date when the evacuation by us was to begin, the date of the

complete demobilization of the Russian Army. I state that concerning this date we are ready to compromise, and I must repeat what I have already stated.

I declare that we cannot accept a peace treaty in which it is not diplomatically promised to evacuate the provinces taken from our allies.

Armenia and the Aland Islands

In accordance with the explanation given by the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, I think there is no ground for doubt that the troops which are in occupation of Turkish provinces * * * are under the authority of the Petrograd Government. I shall touch here also the second clause, which has been discussed by us many times, namely, the question concerning the future of the Aland Islands. I must point out that the peace treaty must give us at least the same rights as we had before the beginning of the war. I shall also recall to you the most passionate wish of the Swedish people to reunite with these islands, where they have, besides geographical and ethnographical considerations, the most vital interests.

TROTZKY—Concerning the evacuation of the Turkish provinces, we find in our principles sufficiently weighty considerations for our declarations that the evacuation of the Armenian territories could not be considered simply as an exchange for the evacuation of the one or the other portions of the occupied Russian territories. As we are withdrawing our troops from Persia, we shall also withdraw them—we have already begun it—from Armenia. It is beyond doubt that we shall state that clearly in our peace treaty with Turkey if our negotiations should advance so far. Concerning the Aland Islands, I must say that I did not understand of what minimum of rights the Secretary of State was speaking. If he had in view the obligation of Russia not to fortify these islands, then, independently of the very essence of the question, the arguments of the Secretary of State appeared to me as being not entirely correct, so far as the rights of Germany are created, and so far as Germany has not renounced these rights. Perhaps the information in possession of the Secretary of State will help us to clear up this question from other points of view. As is known, we have in our possession documents which prove that, in 1907, von Schön for Germany and Gubastoff for Czarist Russia signed a treaty which cannot be published, in which von Schön declared that Germany would not consider it as a breach of the Treaty of Paris if Russia fortified the Aland Islands. Before the question can be discussed, my opinion is that it should be prepared, from a technical point of view, by the Military Commission.

KUEHLMANN—In remaining faithful to the statement at the beginning of this session, I will not discuss the importance of the document which the preceding speaker refers to. I shall again, once more, express my

opinion in a few words, that the peace treaty must return us all those rights which we possessed before the war. As far as these islands are concerned, it is a demand of principle. If in the opinion of the President of the Russian Commission we did not possess any rights before the war, then such a demand must appear to him as one which can be easily agreed upon. I used the word "minimum" with the object of expressing exactly that our demand is, for us, a demand of principle. If somebody asked me of what I was thinking in using the word "maximum," then I should reply, as I have suggested several times previously, that it means the neutralization of these islands by the consent of the peoples on the borders of the Baltic Sea.

For the further discussion we need some preparatory work done by the sub-commission. I regret that the sub-commission has been unable to finish its work for our meeting of today. All other matters have been finished. I have to state that I am expecting during this evening, from the Russian side, the creation of a sub-commission for the discussion of the frontiers. In any case, I propose to have our next session at 6 o'clock P. M. We shall discuss the report of the sub-commission. I shall not waste time, and I here give notice that I, from my side, shall send to this sub-commission, if it is created, von Rosenberg and General ——. As also a naval specialist will take part, I shall send — von —.

I declare the session closed.

Narrative of the Final Rupture

No official detailed report was given of the final session. It appears, however, from the German report of the subsequent proceedings, that the sub-commission referred to above did not meet "at 6 P. M.," as proposed, but did meet the next day, without reaching an agreement.

On Feb. 10, when the conference finally broke up, the sub-committee mentioned above held two sittings, at which the respective military experts were the principal speakers. The Russian delegates attempted to demonstrate the strategical disadvantages to which Russia would be exposed by the proposed new frontier line, while the Germans denied this contention, adding that it was not a matter of the Russo-German frontier, but of the frontier between Russia and the new border States. Agreement, however, could not be reached on this point. At the plenary sitting of the conference on the same day, Trotzky, replying to Kühlmann, denied any knowledge of an alleged order by the Russian Supreme Command urging Russian soldiers to incite German troops against their Generals and officers. Dr. Gratz, having reported that an agreement could not be reached in the sub-committee over which he had presided, Kühlmann asked Trotzky whether he had any communication to make which might contribute to a satisfactory solution. This question brought about the final rupture.

M. Trotzky, replying, said his delega-

tion considered that the decisive hour had arrived. After a bitter attack on imperialism, M. Trotzky declared that Russia would no longer participate in the war, as she was unwilling to shed the blood of her soldiers in the interests of one party against another. Russia, therefore, had decided to withdraw her army and people from the war. She had notified all peoples and their Governments of her decision, and had ordered the complete demobilization of all the Russian armies now confronting the armies of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. His Government, however, added M. Trotzky, refused to sanction the conditions of Germany and Austria-Hungary. Russia had abandoned the war, but she was obliged to forego the signing of a peace treaty. Then followed the declaration of the ending of the state of war and the demobilization order, which have already been published.

THREAT OF HOSTILITIES

To this statement of M. Trotzky's, Baron Kühlmann rejoined that if he analyzed the present position correctly he found that the Quadruple Alliance was still at war with the Russian Government. Warlike operations, he added, were suspended for the time being by the armistice treaty, but on the lapse of this treaty these would automatically revive. If his memory did not deceive him, the real purpose of the armistice was the conclusion of peace. If, therefore,

peace was not concluded, and the essential object of the armistice should thus vanish, Baron Kühlmann concluded that warlike operations would revive again after the termination of the prescribed period.

The fact that one of the two contracting parties had demobilized its armies would in nowise alter this, either in fact or in law. This existence of the customary international relations between States, and of legal and commercial relations, was the mark of a state of peace. He therefore requested M. Trotsky to state whether the Russian Government intended, in addition to making its declaration regarding the termination of the state of war, to say where the frontiers of Russia ran, as this would be a necessary requisite before the resumption of diplomatic, consular, legal, and commercial relations, and also to say whether the Government of People's Commissioners was willing to resume legal and commercial relations to precisely the same extent as would naturally result from the termination of the state of war. These questions, he said, it was essential to determine in order to judge whether the Quadruple Alliance was still at war or not.

Baron Kühlmann then proposed a sitting for the next day, at which the attitude of the Central Powers to the latest statement of the Russian delegation might be made known.

END OF CONFERENCE

M. Trotsky replied that his delegation had now exhausted all its power, and considered it necessary to return to Petrograd. All communications, he added, which the allied delegations might make would be deliberated upon by the Federal Russian Government, and a reply would be given in due course. On being asked through what channel this exchange of views was to take place, M. Trotsky said that the Russian delegation had had direct telegraphic communication with Petrograd from Brest-Litovsk. Furthermore, before the inauguration of the armistice negotiations an understanding

had been reached by wireless, and, moreover, there would be presently representatives of the four allied powers in Petrograd, who might communicate with their respective Governments. Communication might therefore, suggested M. Trotsky, be restored in this way. The sitting then closed.

THE BOLSHEVIST VERSION

The following is the Bolshevik Government's official version of the rupture:

Yesterday at the session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Councils, the President of the peace delegation, Trotsky, reported on the course and results of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. Not only the representatives of the parties composing the Government's majority but also the representatives of the opposition groups recognized that the decision taken by the Council of the People's Commissaries was the only correct one and the only dignified outcome of the newly created international situation. The speakers of the majority and opposition put forward the question whether there was a possibility of a German offensive against Russia. Nearly all were of the opinion that such an offensive is very improbable, but they all uttered warnings against an unlimited optimism in this direction, because the dare-all-annexation groups of Germany might make attempts to force the Government of Germany to a new offensive. Certainly in this case the duty of all citizens will be, in the opinion of all speakers, the decisive and heroic defense of the revolution.

All speakers also expressed their belief that the large masses of the peoples of Germany and Austria-Hungary will not permit a new shedding of blood on the former eastern front, because Russia, on its side, has declared the state of war as ended, and because the offensive by the German annexationists would have the character of an open raid for plunder. The People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs concluded this report with the statement that Russia is withdrawing from the war not only in appearance but in reality. It is throwing away all agreements with its former allies, and, as regards the war in progress, it is reserving for itself the whole freedom in respect to both sides of its revolutionary policy. At the conclusion of the session a resolution was passed which approves the whole of the policy of the Brest-Litovsk delegation of the Council of the People's Commissaries.

The Internal Policy of the Bolsheviki

By Abraham Yarmolinsky

ON the night of Nov. 7, 1917, the now historic night of the Bolshevik coup in Petrograd, two decrees were drafted by the new masters. One dealt with the armistice to be concluded on all fronts, and formed the prologue of the Russo-German peace. The other abolished private ownership of land. This measure was the first of a series of blows directed by the new revolutionary authorities against the middle pillars upon which rested the house of the old economic order in Russia. With this step the vast upheaval entered upon the phase of proletarian communism, which the disciples of Bolshevism hail as the long-awaited social revolution, and which, in their opinion, opens the final apocalyptic struggle between labor and capital.

NATIONALIZATION OF LAND

Lenine's agrarian policy, which, together with the promise to give the country peace, was his trump card, is the epitome of the efforts of the Soviets to establish a Socialist Commonwealth. The original decree was later elaborated and duly ratified by the Third All-Russian Congress of the Councils of Workmen's, Peasants', and Soldiers' Deputies, which met in February, 1918. All the forests, mines, waters, and landed estates, with their live stock, buildings, and machinery, were declared the common property of the people. The peasants were invited, even urged, to seize them immediately and turn them over to the Land Committees, which had been organized under the "bourgeois" régime. One of the decrees dealing with the confiscation of lands states that the land owners' mansions will be used for schools, asylums, hospitals, and theatres.

This was the triumph of the program of nationalizing the land, which Lenine's group has been advocating since 1905. Two other schemes of settling the land

problem are current among Russian radicals. One, popular among Social Democrats, would "municipalize" the land, that is, expropriate the privately owned estates beyond a certain minimum area and have them administered by autonomous organizations, embracing large territorial units. The other plan, known as "socialization of land," forms the main plank of the platform of the Social Revolutionists. It provides for the division of the confiscated land among small land communities organized on the pattern of the traditional Russian mir.

Lenine's agrarian program, under the circumstances in which it was put into execution, proved by far the most disastrous. The land decree merely sanctioned the promiscuous seizure of land, which had been going on since the revolution. It introduced no organizing principle into the chaos of agrarian relations. Its immediate effect was to swell the tide of riots which laid waste whole counties. True, the People's Commissaries repeatedly warned the population against wanton destruction of what was now the nation's common property. The appeals remained unheeded. The Bolsheviki had conjured up a power which they were not able to control.

With the coming of the Spring the apportioning of land assumes an importance for Russians equal to that of the peace problem. The peasants have extravagant notions about the amount of land available for distribution among them. There are some bitter disappointments in store for them. Figures show that if the landed estates were confiscated in the twenty-three Governments of the black-soil zone and distributed among the tillers, the increase would average no more than six acres per family. The struggle for land will, therefore, inevitably lead to severe clashes. The situation is aggravated by a portion of the city population, which, driven by unemployment, is seeking to return to

the soil in the hope of getting an allotment of land.

Kalegayev, the Commissary of Agriculture, elaborated definite plans for the division of the land, but the Third Congress of Councils did not adopt them. Lenin wants the masses to take matters into their own hands and make the necessary readjustments by means of direct revolutionary action. Speaking recently before a gathering of propagandists prepared for work among the peasants, he said: "We have taken the land to give it to the poor peasants. Do not let the rich peasants or exploiters get the agricultural implements. Pit ten poor peasants against every rich one."

SPECIALIZING PRODUCTION

In the field of industry the Petrograd Government proceeded more cautiously. In principle, it favored the socialization of all the factories and State control over all production and distribution. Up to the present, however, but few factories have been confiscated and handed over to the workmen. The prevalent type of industrial plant in Russia is still the so-called "constitutional factory," evolved under Kerensky, that is, a factory in which the authority of the owner is limited by a committee of the employees' delegates. The State confines itself to regulating the production, with a view to bringing order into the confusion of capitalistic economy, and, especially, for the purpose of increasing the manufacturing of commodities most urgently needed. On several occasions the State has taken over the distribution of a particularly important commodity. Thus, on Dec. 12, 1917, the Council of People's Commissaries declared, in the name of the republic, that all agricultural implements manufactured in and imported into Russia would henceforth be at the exclusive disposal of the State, which would distribute them according to special regulations published through the local Soviets.

In a statement issued early last February, Mr. Shlyapnikov, Commissary of Labor in the Bolshevik Cabinet, asserted that the effect on labor had been most beneficial. He cited the example of the

Ural factories, which were handed over to the workmen, with the result that in a short time the productivity of labor there increased 300 per cent. "There is," he says, "a psychological reason for this. The workmen realize that they are working for themselves and their country and not being exploited for private gain. That is a great stimulus."

CONTROL OF THE PRESS

The principle of nationalized means of production also has been applied to the press, in a fashion highly characteristic of both the theory and practice of the Bolshevik rule. Lenin's régime has added a sad chapter to the age-long martyrdom of the Russian press. Speaking on Nov. 17, 1917, before the Central Executive Committee of the Councils, on the repressions against the press, Trotsky explained the stand of the authorities in this matter. According to this official spokesman of Bolshevism, the abstract legal notion of the freedom of the press is meaningless in the social republic of Soviets. All the supplies of print paper and type must become the common property of the nation and be put at the disposal of the Soviets. A free press is a press serving the interests of the people, that is, the workmen and peasants. "Novoe Vremya," (a large conservative Petrograd daily,) he said, "which had no following at the elections, cannot lay claim to a single letter of type or a single sheet of paper."

In this connection may be mentioned a decree published Jan. 14, 1918. According to it the author's copyright becomes public property fifteen years after his death. The State may then assume the monopoly of the publication of his works, for the purpose of spreading them among the masses. The decree added that the authorities had undertaken the publication of a series of national classics.

FINANCES AND FOOD

On the same day the Petrograd Government definitely repudiated all the national loans issued under the imperial and "bourgeois" régimes. The short-term loans and the series of the National Treasury were the only ones

to be declared valid. The foreign loans were annulled early in December.

The most important financial measure of the Bolsheviks was the nationalization of the banking system. They began by requisitioning large sums for Governmental needs. Then they limited the amount of money which the depositors were allowed to draw from the banks every week. By this measure the commercial life of the country was severely injured. Finally, on Dec. 30, the Central Executive Committee of the Councils voted two decrees, which nationalized the banks. One made banking a State monopoly and amalgamated all the private banks and similar institutions with the State bank, which was ordered to take possession of their funds and assume the provisional direction of their operations. It added that small savings would be safeguarded, but made no mention of the fate of the large deposits.

The other decree empowered the authorities to transfer to the State Bank all funds contained in the strong boxes of the private banks, and to confiscate all gold coin and bullion.

This and several minor financial measures, such as curtailment of the officials' salaries, which the Bolsheviks succeeded in enforcing, failed to relieve the financial distress of the country. This distress had been steadily growing since the revolution. In February, 1918, the amount of paper money was 18,000,000,000 rubles, against the gold reserve of 1,604,000,000 rubles, while the national debt reached the sum of 80,000,000,000. The official organ of the Bolshevik Government recently suggested the heroic measure of a legal revaluation of the ruble, to be made when the war is over. In a recent speech bearing upon the financial situation, Lenine is reported to have said: "The rich, who have hidden their wealth, think the masses will pull them through. Somehow, we must uncover the hidden wealth, otherwise the Bolshevik Government is bankrupt. The republic needs 28,000,000,000 rubles annually. Its prospective income is only 8,000,000,000. The hidden wealth must be

"uncovered and placed at the disposal of the Government."

The Bolsheviks have been inefficient in the vital matter of food supply. Shortly after Lenine seized the reins of power, the Petrograd Committee on Food Supply issued a statement to the effect that the coup d'état had completely stopped all shipments of food from the interior of the country, and utterly disorganized transportation. The new Government appointed a special Commissary of Food Supply. It issued a number of decrees, and made desperate appeals to the peasants for bread. Declaring that Kerensky had raised the price of bread in August because he had at heart the interests of land owners, speculators, and other persons who had accumulated large stores of grain, it announced its decision to fix the price at a low level. It apparently succeeded in reducing food speculation, the campaign against which was conducted by the Military Revolutionary Committee assisted by subsidiary local commissions, but the north of Russia was hardly ever nearer starvation than in the month when the Bolsheviks signed their forced peace with the Central Powers.

THE RED ARMY

The Declaration of the Rights of the Workman, which was rejected by the abortive Constituent Assembly and ratified by the Third Congress of Soviets, is based on the principle of an armed proletariat and a disarmed bourgeoisie. The Bolsheviks started out with the hope of reviving the disintegrated troops—or, at least, that portion of them which had not been disbanded—by means of reducing to absurdity the principles of equality and election. They ruled that all officers, from the lowest to the highest, both in the army and in the navy, should be elected by their subordinates. The elective principle had worked miracles in the French Army at the time of the French Revolution; but the French regulations provided for the election of officers by their equals. The "democratization" of the Russian Army, enforced by the proletarian Government, only added to the demoralization of the military command, for many responsible posts fell into the

hands of wholly incompetent men. The authority of the commander was limited by the Military Revolutionary Committees, which were created early in the revolution by the celebrated Order No. 1. No order could be given without the knowledge and approval of these committees. Besides, military colleges and schools were declared unnecessary. If we wish to have military experts, argued the Bolsheviks, we must teach the science of war not to selected groups of men, but to all the soldiers, thereby avoiding the formation of a military aristocracy.

Before long, however, it became apparent that the task of rehabilitating the army was little short of hopeless. Reporting to the Congress of Soviets on Jan. 24, General Bonch-Bruyevich declared that the army organizations were utterly demoralized, the officers inexperienced, and the maintenance of discipline impossible. It was then that the idea was conceived of completely discarding the old military machine, the inheritance of the past, and creating a new fighting force, the revolutionary army of the republic of Soviets. The nucleus of this "Red Army" was the Red Guard, which Kerensky formed in the days of Korniloff's revolt by distributing 14,000 rifles among the workmen of Petrograd, and which was the chief instrument of Kerensky's fall.

On Jan. 27 a special commission for the organization of the new military body was formed at the Commissariat for War. The Red Army was to consist of the most revolutionary and intelligent elements of the working classes, and was to be, in a sense, a select body of men. The State took upon itself to provide lodging and maintenance for both officers and men, to pay them a salary of 50 rubles a month, and support their dependents.

OTHER RADICAL CHANGES

The régime of proletarian communism did not confine its experiments in democratization to the army. As early decree of the People's Commissaries abolished all existing legal classes, ranks, and civil titles, and handed over the corporate property of nobles, merchants, and

burgesses to the State. All Russians were to be referred to as "citizens of the Russian Republic." A month later came the destruction of the judicial system, which was created under Alexander II. The Senate, (Supreme Court,) courts of appeal, district and other courts were replaced by revolutionary tribunals, consisting of one permanent Judge and two jurymen appointed by the local Soviet. Any man or woman was allowed to act as counsel or procurator, the posts of Attorney General and Examining Magistrate being abolished.

An interesting specimen of Bolshevik legislation is "The Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia." In this document Kerensky's policy is characterized as "a policy of cowardly distrust for the peoples of Russia, a policy of caviling and provocation, disguised with words about the 'freedom' and 'equality' of peoples." The Government of the Soviets declares that in its activity it will be guided by the following principles:

1. The equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia.
2. The right of the peoples to free self-determination, including even their separation and the formation of independent States.
3. Abolition of national and religious privileges and disabilities.
4. Free development of the national and ethnic groups inhabiting Russia.

It seems, however, that the Bolsheviks do not unanimously accept the principle of extending the right of self-determination to complete separation. Some time ago Lenine himself spoke against such a policy. "The defense of the right of 'self-determination,'" he wrote, "does not encourage the formation of small States. On the contrary, it leads to 'the freer, more fearless, and, therefore, more extensive and general formation of large States and unions of States, which are more advantageous for the masses and more in harmony with economic development. * * * The conception of the legal separation of nations is a reactionary conception."

The latest important act of the Petrograd Government is a decree separating the Russian Church from the State and

the school, sequestering all church property, abolishing the oath, and doing away with all the privileges previously accorded to the Orthodox Church. This iconoclastic measure definitely severs the

immemorial union between Russian statehood and the Orthodox Church. Enforced with brutality, it brought upon the heads of the Bolsheviki the anathema of Patriarch Tikhon.

Desperate Conditions Under Bolshevik Rule

The preceding article covers some phases of legislation enacted by the Bolshevik Government; there were, however, other developments in Petrograd and throughout the country during the exciting weeks of early 1918, prior to Russia's capitulation in March, and these should be recorded. Arthur Ransome, the Petrograd correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, in a cablegram sent Feb. 16, 1918, summarizes some examples of legislative oddities of the Bolsheviki as follows:

NOWADAYS a newspaper can only come out on condition that it prints all orders and enactments issued by the Petrograd Soviet on its first page. There are other restrictions, but this is the most serious, as after a busy day at the Soviet a paper may find itself compelled to surrender the whole front page to advertising its enemies' doings—the only form of advertisement now permitted to appear in the columns of the non-Soviet press.

Then there are restaurant regulations coming into force. All restaurants which have the necessary accommodation will have to provide a certain number of cheap meals fixed at a low price in accordance with the new card system. Then there is "Spitzberg's Marriage and Divorce Bureau." Apparently this Government institution only found twenty-one couples willing to submit to its ministrations during the six weeks of its existence. Spitzberg, the barrister who runs the bureau, is preparing an extensive advertising campaign.

These days have also seen a heavy assault on the Russian Church. Vladimir, Metropolitan of Kiev, has been murdered by hooligans, who entered his rooms at the Lavra, robbed him, stripped him, and finally drove out the old man of 70 and killed him. Tikhon, Metropolitan of Moscow, who also is Patriarch of the Russian Church, has been prevented from coming to Petrograd, while the sacristy of the Moscow Kremlin has been looted. The gold and silver removed alone are worth many millions of rubles, to say

nothing of such things as very early text Slavonic manuscript gospels and articles of inestimable historical value.

The amount of robbery and murder now proceeding has led the Petrograd Soviet to appoint a special commission to devise means of suppressing the disorder. All criminal elements are to be invited either to adopt an honest method of earning a living or leave the town within twenty-four hours. At the expiration of this time limit all criminals caught red-handed are to be shot forthwith.

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that the line between ordinary criminality and anarchism, inspired by the loftiest motives, has now completely vanished. The front page of Sunday's *Burevestnik*, an anarchist daily, consists of an appeal addressed to hall porters. "You have been watchdogs long enough guarding the wealth of others," it says. "The poor do not need protection. It is a crime to protect the rich. Open the gates; let the real masters, the poor, enter and take what is theirs. Owners of palaces and private houses, if you do not desire equality, go live in the cellars, under the stairs, in damp corners. We, where there are light and sun, create anarchy."

PETROGRAD DESERTED

Dr. Harold Williams, another Petrograd correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, under date of March 10 described the exodus from Petrograd as follows:

The streets are very quiet now. They

have never been so quiet since the beginning of the war, and in the evenings the stillness of the dimly lighted thoroughfares is fraught with foreboding. The turbulent emotions of the year of revolution are exhausted; the fever is slackening, the pulse of life is very low, and the depression and foreboding are inarticulate. They cannot be summed up as dread of any definite calamity, as fear of the Germans, as fears of unrestrained anarchy. They are gloomier, because they are inarticulate, because they come of a sense of emptiness, of the ebbing away of life.

DEPARTING FOR MOSCOW

There has been a great exodus. The Government is migrating to Moscow, and has let fall hints that Moscow is to be proclaimed the capital. The Council of People's Commissaries will have its seat in the Kremlin. Lenine will sit in the seat of the predecessors of Peter the Great and the Neva will be deserted. The Ministries have nearly completed their evacuation. Tons of goods have been dispatched south and east, and tonight or tomorrow night those members of the Government who still remain will leave for Moscow.

The power is leaving Petrograd, and the population, seized by vague alarm, has been flocking out of the city. Day after day a queue of many thousands waited on the Nevsky Prospect for permits to leave the city. Day after day overcrowded trains moved off south and east, soldiers in the forefront, and dismissed workmen and all that miscellaneous mass of humanity that is afraid of starvation, afraid of unemployment, afraid of the invader, of unknown calamities. Many thousands who could not go by trains went off on foot through the snow, and many who had ready money to spare hired sledges and went driving off on a pilgrimage into the depths of Russia.

Yet there was no noise, no outward sign of panic. There was a strange hush about it all, a sad and patient resignation, as though in the presence of an unintelligible, inexorable fate; and those who remain go wandering about the streets, vaguely, hopelessly, asking

for an explanation of the life that has grown meaningless.

There are provisions. Somehow the city still lives from hand to mouth, with a curious ingenuity. This week the refrigerators were emptied and their contents allotted among the population as a parting gift, so that for a few hours they had plenty of flour and dried vegetables and fed on frozen goose. And supply trains still come in irregularly and in dribbles, but still they come.

The street cars have no stores of fuel, but from time to time they buy remnants from factories that are closing down, and so struggle along with interruptions. Half the cabmen have gone home to their villages, often selling their horses for meat before they go, for horse meat is now a recognized article of diet, even in many families that were once well to do, and the horses that remain are dying. Day after day one sees them fall in the street and gathering round them a doleful crowd of idle onlookers. They die, and their bodies lie in the snow unburied for many days. Most of the big theatres are deserted, and it is the easiest thing in the world now to get tickets for the once-crowded opera.

In the night one hears shots, unintelligible fusillades. A few nights ago there was a rattle of rifles in my neighborhood, and in the morning passersby found the bodies of six young men, students, as I afterward discovered, shot, heaven knows why.

All goods, sledges, and motor cars and lorries have been requisitioned for the evacuation, and their movements for the last week have constituted almost the sole traffic of this once great industrial centre, and in the settled gloom there is no place left for excitement, for panic, for sudden flashes of fear or anger. People talk and speculate, but they know that their words are vain, and they speak wearily, indifferently of loss and pain and death.

LOOTING THE WARSHIPS

Louis Edgar Browne, Petrograd correspondent of The New York Globe and Chicago Daily News, cabled under date of March 13:

When the Soviet decided to evacuate

Petrograd the crews of three warships in the Neva held meetings and decided that so far as they were concerned the war was over and that each sailor was free to return to his village. The silver plate, crockery, and every particle of the movable equipment were divided and distributed so that each member of the crew received approximately an equal share.

A sailor presiding at one of the meetings presented a resolution authorizing the distribution with the argument that the warships formerly belonged to the Czar, but the revolution made them the people's property. As it was impossible to divide equally the three cruisers among 180,000,000 people, the crews of these three ships had a perfect right to divide the materials provided they relinquished claim to any other properties of the former Czar.

Everything in the Russian Army and Navy is now in a process of liquidation in a similar manner. Regiments are dividing clothing and the supplies. The automobile units are selling their motors and supplies and dividing the proceeds, while the commissary is making an equal distribution of food. The psychological formula of the soldier units today is to gather all the loot and spoils possible, divide equally, and return to the native village as quickly as possible for the purpose of being present when the land is redistributed.

Horseflesh is the only meat available in Petrograd, and queues of forlorn and hungry people extend for blocks on each side of the butcher shops. A more varied crowd cannot be imagined. Ragged and well dressed children, fur-clad women and shabby servants and street sweepers and army officers wait hour after hour with unbelievable patience for a few pounds of horseflesh. Each queue eventually becomes an indignation meeting against the existing order of things. The women especially are bitter, blaming the Bolsheviks for all their troubles. If one stands in a queue for a few moments he is sure to overhear the expression of the hope that the Germans will soon occupy Petrograd, and there is never a dissenting protest.

Horse meat costs 3 rubles (\$1.50) a pound. Formerly Petrograd was noted for the huge flocks of pigeons which lived in belfries of the cathedrals, but most of these have already found their way to the pot. Dogs and cats are disappearing. Here are a few prices of commodities: Potatoes, 2 rubles (\$1) a pound; butter, 13½ rubles (\$7.25) a pound; sugar, 15 rubles (\$7.50) a pound; porridge, 6 rubles, (\$3;) flour, 5 rubles, (\$2.50;) rice, 8 rubles, (\$4,) and bread from 2 to 7 rubles (\$1 to \$3.50) a pound.

ANNIVERSARY OF REVOLUTION

Herman Bernstein cabled The New York Herald on March 13 as follows:

On the eve of the anniversary of the Russian revolution Petrograd presents a sad sight. The fairy tale of long-dreamed dreams awakened by the overthrow of Czarism is now a nightmare of terror, starvation, plunder, and demoralization. The bourgeoisie are hard hit. Fur-coated ladies are selling newspapers at the street corners. Bankers and Generals are cleaning the streets and working as railroad station carriers and theatrical supernumeraries. The proletariat is commencing to suffer from lack of employment.

Petrograd's fate is apparently sealed as the great Russian capital. The Ministers are hurrying away and there is a general evacuation by rail, by sleigh, and on foot, as from Moscow during the Napoleonic invasion.

Petrograd is daily the scene of many murders, robberies, holdups, and raids. When the Government departments leave, excesses on a large scale are feared, even though several regiments have published warnings that pogrom makers will be shot immediately. A grave catastrophe is expected in the next few weeks.

Persons are summarily killed in various parts of the city to terrorize the population, and people are shot on the slightest pretext without trials. The Department of Justice now demands a thorough investigation of the murder of so-called counter-revolutionists by unknown persons.

Text of Decree Repudiating Russia's Debts

The official proclamation repudiating Russia's debts was dated Feb. 8, 1918, (New Style,) and was finally approved by the Central Committee. The text is as follows:

1. All loans contracted by former Russian Governments which are specified in a special list are canceled as from Dec. 1, 1917. The December coupons of these loans will not be paid.

2. All the guarantees for these loans are canceled.

3. All loans made from abroad are canceled without exception and unconditionally.

4. The short-term series of State Treasury bonds retain their validity. The interest on them will not be payable, but they will circulate on a par with paper money.

5. Indigent persons who hold stock not exceeding 10,000 rubles in internal loans will receive in exchange, according to the nominal value of their holdings, certificates in their own name for a new loan of the Russian Socialist Federal Republic of Soviets for an amount not exceeding that of their previous holding. The conditions of this loan are specially defined.

6. Deposits in the State savings banks and the interest upon them are not to be touched. All holdings in the canceled loans belonging to these banks will be replaced by debt entered to their credit in the Great Book of the Russian Socialist Republic.

7. Co-operative and other institutions of

general or democratic utility, and possessing holdings in the canceled loans, will be indemnified in accordance with the special regulations laid down by the Supreme Council of Political Economy, in agreement with their representatives, if it is proved that the holdings were acquired before the publication of the present decree.

8. The State Bank is charged with the complete liquidation of loans and the immediate registration of all holders of bonds in the State loans and other funds, whether annulled or not.

9. The Soviet of the Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies, in accord with the local economic councils, will form committees for the purpose of deciding whether a citizen is to be classed as "indigent." These committees will be competent to cancel entirely all savings acquired without working for them, even in the case of sums below 5,000 rubles.

THE CALENDAR REVISED

A decree was issued Feb. 7 by the Bolshevik Government, providing for the adoption of the Gregorian, or "New Style," calendar, as from Thursday, Feb. 14, 1918, "the first day after Jan. 31, 1918, (Russian style,) being reckoned as Feb. 14." This abolishes the "Old Style" calendar, which caused Russian dates to lag thirteen days behind the corresponding dates in the rest of the world.

Proclamation of the "Social Revolution"

Lenine's] First Manifestoes

IZVESTIA, the full title of which is "News of the Central Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies," is the official organ of the Bolshevik Government at Petrograd. No. 210 of this small four-page newspaper, issued on Nov. 11, 1917, and dated Oct. 29, (Old Style,) contains the first proclamation of the "Social Revolution," the uprising which overthrew the Kerensky Government, along with other documents of a similar nature. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE herewith presents its own translation of these historic milestones on the road to Russia's present catastrophe:

TO WORKMEN COMRADES!

By the will of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies has been created a Temporary Peasants' and Workmen's Government. By its direction the Commission of Labor turns to you, Workmen Comrades, with a cordial invitation to help the work of strengthening the revolution and its conquests.

The propertied classes are trying to create anarchy and ruin in production, provoking violence among the workmen, excesses and attacks upon master workmen, technicians, and engineers. They hope in this way to bring about a complete and final dislocation of all enterprises and then to shut the doors of the factories and industries. The Revolutionary Commis-

№ 210.
Воскресенье,
29 октября 1917 г.

ИЗВѢСТІЯ

ЦѢНА:
въ Петроградѣ 15 коп.
на ст. жел. д. 18 коп.

Центральнаго Исполнительнаго Комитета и Петроградскаго Совѣта РАБОЧИХЪ и СОЛДАТСКИХЪ ДЕПУТАТОВЪ.

Адресъ конторы: Лиговка, Садикинъ пер., д. № 6. Телефонъ № 218-41.
Адресъ редакціи: Смольный Институтъ, 2-й этажъ комнаты № 144. Телефонъ № 38-89.

ТОВАРИЩИ РАБОЧІЕ!

Волей Всероссийскаго Съезда Совѣтовъ Рабочихъ и Солдатскихъ Депутатовъ создано Временное Крестьянское и Рабочее Правительство. По его порученію, Комиссія Труда обращается къ Вамъ, Товарищи Рабочіе, съ горячимъ призывомъ помочь дѣлу укрѣпленія революціи и ея завоеваніямъ.

PART OF FIRST PAGE OF IZVESTIA, THE BOLSHEVIST OFFICIAL ORGAN IN PETROGRAD, CONTAINING A HISTORIC PROCLAMATION OF THE MAXIMALIST GOVERNMENT

sion of Labor turns to you, Workmen Comrades, asking you to abstain from violences and excesses.

By the fraternal and creative work of the popular working masses and the proletariat organizations, the Commission of Labor will be able to remove all obstacles standing in its way.

To all producers and to all who continue sabotage, and thereby place obstacles in the way of the problems and aims of the great proletarian-peasant revolution, the new Revolutionary Government will apply the severest measures. Lynch law and every violence can only injure the work of the revolution. The Commission of Labor summons you to self-control and revolutionary discipline.

(Signed)

The People's Commissioner of Labor,
ALEXANDER SHLYAPNIKOFF.

In the same number the elimination of Alexander Kerensky is thus announced:

TO THE WHOLE PEOPLE!

Former Minister Kerensky, overthrown by the people, refuses to accept the decision of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, and is making criminal attempts to resist the lawful Government, elected by

the All-Russian Congress of the Soviet of People's Commissaries. The army has refused to support Kerensky. Moscow has united itself to the new Government. A whole series of other cities (Minsk, Mohilev, Kharkov) has passed under the power of the Soviets. Not one infantry element opposes the Workmen's and Peasants' Government, which, in harmony with the firm will of the army and people, has entered upon peace negotiations, and has transferred the land to the peasants.

Like General Korniloff, a few squadrons of misguided Cossacks were collected by this criminal enemy of the people, who is trying to deceive the population of Petrograd with lying manifestoes.

We announce for the information of all: If the Cossacks do not arrest Kerensky, who is deceiving them, and if they move against Petrograd, the army of the revolution, with all the force of its arms, will defend the precious conquests of the revolution: Peace and land.

Citizens of Petrograd, Kerensky has fled from the city, leaving you in the hands of Kishkin, who advocates the surrender of Petrograd to the Germans; in the hands of Ruttenberg, organizer of the Black Hundred, who has disorganized

the production of the city in the hands of Palchinski, who heartily detests all democracy. Kerensky has run away, giving you up to surrender to the Germans, to famine, to a bath of blood. The people rising in its might has arrested the Ministers of Kerensky, and you have seen that the order and production of Petrograd have simply gained by this. Kerensky, on the demand of the nobles, landowners, capitalists, speculators, is going against you, in order to return the land to the landowners, in order once more to prolong the ruinous, detested war.

Citizens of Petrograd, we know that the vast majority of you are for the power of the revolutionary people, against the Korniloffists, led by Kerensky. Do not let yourself be deceived by lying proclamations of impotent bourgeois talkers, who will be crushed without pity.

Workmen, soldiers, peasants, we demand of you revolutionary readiness and revolutionary discipline.

The many-millioned peasantry, the many-millioned army, are on our side.

The victory of the people's revolution is inevitable.

THE WAR-REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OF THE PETROGRAD SOVIET OF WORKMEN'S AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES.

Petrograd, Oct 23, (Old Style,) 1917.

The peace program of the Bolshevik Government is set forth in another proclamation in the same number:

Immediate democratic peace, this is one of the great world problems of the Russian revolution.

But only a Workmen's and Peasants' Government is capable of realizing this problem, since only such a Government expresses the will of the whole Russian people and will inflexibly carry out that will. Thus, for the first time in the course of the seven months of the revolution, the fate of the masses of the people is in their own hands.

Until the uprising of Oct. 24-25, (Nov. 6-7, New Style,) the Provisional Government did nothing to solve this mighty problem, because it was a Government of Russian serfs and allied capitalists.

Step by step it receded from the program of peace of the Russian revolutionary democracy. It betrayed it in the interest of allied capitalists. To the detriment of peace, it carried on secret negotiations with these capitalists behind the back of the Russian revolutionary democracy. By organizing the July offensive, it drove Russia into the path of destruction and knocked from the hands of the German proletariat a weapon pointed at the breast of the Government of Wilhelm II.

Therefore, being the Government of the serfs of the bourgeoisie, it feared the

proletariat masses, and to the fulfillment of their will preferred even the triumph of the German bourgeoisie. And the Socialist supporters, all the Tseretellis, Liebers, Avskentieffs, upheld it, sharing with it the betrayal of the interest of the Russian revolution, the interest of peace, the interest of the Russian and European working masses. Only the present Workmen's and Peasants' Government can guarantee peace to the tortured Russian and other peoples, steeped in their brothers' blood.

It has established the question of peace on simple, unshakable ground. It raises on high the red flag of international socialism, and demands peace without annexations or contributions, in principle condemning all annexations, no matter when they were made.

But, being faithful to the principles of international socialism, it understands the full justice of the words of Karl Liebknecht: That the worst enemy of every proletariat is in its own country, and that only a revolution of the proletariat of Europe has the power finally to liberate all lands held in slavery until the present war.

And it states the real question of peace. It demands an immediate truce on all fronts, announces its willingness to consider calmly and objectively all peace proposals, and sets a period of three months for the consideration of these proposals.

Already demanding a truce on all fronts, the Workmen's and Peasants' Government spurns the base insinuation that it is striving after a separate peace. It is not at all seeking to break with its allies, but it has taken a defensive position, thanks to which in all allied countries the true workmen's democracy will have the decisive voice.

And the fact that, in Russia, power and the negotiation of peace are in the hands, not of a traitor, but of the real representatives of the workmen, soldiers, and peasants, will strengthen the movement in favor of peace in allied countries also, as well as in Germany and Austria. This open advance with the demand for peace, with its condemnation of secret diplomacy, will find an echo not only in the world's proletariat but also among the great masses of the countries forced and dragged into the war—Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Belgium, the colonies.

By this means the Governments of the warring imperialistic countries are placed in a position in which the beginning of immediate peace negotiations will be irresistibly forced upon them.

Thanks to the uprising of Oct. 25, the question of peace is on simple, unshakable ground. It is in the hands of the Workmen's and Peasants' Government, in the hands of the Russian masses of the people themselves. And he who does not support

it is against peace, is an enemy of the proletariat, an enemy of the Russian people, an enemy of all mankind tortured by this war. Whoever is in favor of immediate truce on all fronts, whoever is in favor of peace, whoever is in favor of the

triumph of democracy and the brotherhood of the toiling masses of all lands and peoples, will support the Workmen's and Peasants' Government. Down with secret diplomacy and counter-revolution! Long live peace!

German Methods of Decoying Russians

Text of an Official Order

THE following document reveals in detail the methods by which the Germans introduced their propaganda among the Russian troops and started the "fraternization" and disaffection which ended in Russia's downfall and the loss of Russian liberty. The same methods were used later upon the Italians. The document is an official order sent by the German General Staff to each of the divisions near the eastern front. It bears no date, but the sixth article shows that it was issued some time after May, 1917. The translation given below was made for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from the text printed in the Moscow daily *Russkoye Slovo* of Dec. 1, 1917; but the document had previously appeared in the Petrograd papers. Throughout the Summer the cleverly manipulated virus of enemy propaganda was introduced into the simple minds of the Russian soldiers by the methods here prescribed with German thoroughness.

218TH ARMY DIVISION.

1st Section, No. 266.

SECRET.

Not to be taken to front positions.

ORDER TO THE DIVISION.

1. In conformance with the order transmitted over the telephone of the group Gerock No. 2098, it is necessary to develop the propaganda among the enemy armies with particular intensity.

2. The aim of the propaganda is to disorganize the foe's army and to obtain necessary information about it.

3. The propaganda must be conducted

(a) By throwing into the enemy trenches a large number of newspapers and manifestoes for the intellectual elements of the army;

(b) By persuading the masses orally and selecting credulous officers and Sergeants in the enemy troops.

4. The front communication posts (*Front-vernehmungsstellen*) are subject to the authority of the commanders of the corresponding companies.

The duty of the latter is as follows:

(a) In his section he must seek out favorably situated points from which newspapers, manifestoes, &c., might be transmitted to the enemy.

(b) At these points he must endeavor to enter into direct communication with the enemy through our interpreters and, if the enemy is disposed to do so, appoint a definite hour for meetings.

5. Every agreement in this direction must be immediately communicated over the telephone to the head of the divisional bureau of information.

The head of the bureau of information alone has the right to parley with the enemy, according to definite instructions given to him.

The communication posts, directed by company commanders, must merely prepare the ground for such parleys.

6. Our soldiers are strictly forbidden to enter into communication with the enemy, except as ordered above, for this would facilitate enemy espionage. In any event, the enemy will try to take advantage of the kindly disposition of our soldiers. The strict order (No. 39 of May 28, 1917) regarding this matter remains in full power.

Written and printed matter brought by the enemy must be accepted and immediately forwarded to the head of the bureau of information. It is strictly forbidden to open them and, in general, to touch them.

7. Company commanders will begin their activities most successfully by locating, first of all, the points where the enemy accepted the papers placed for him, and where he proved hostile to our propaganda, where he moves freely and without fear in his trenches, and, finally, where his behavior is decidedly hostile and forbidding. Positions where artillery observation posts are discovered should be avoided, for French officers and instructors may be there.

8. The success of opening communications with the enemy by the above-described method depends on the adroitness with which the first steps are made.

Shouts will only frighten the enemy, who is timid by nature, and throw the whole post into alarm. Good results are obtained by words delivered in a quiet tone of voice and full of feelings of comradeship, by a frequent repetition of these attempts at the

A BRITISH TANK IN AN AWKWARD POSITION



This photograph conveys a vivid idea of the kind of ground in France over which tanks operate and of the difficult positions in which they sometimes find themselves
(British official photo from Underwood & Underwood)

A BRITISH ARMORED CAR STUCK DEEP IN FLANDERS MUD



The morasses amid which the British offensive in Flanders has been conducted cause many of the greatest difficulties in transportation. This car, suitably camouflaged, has sunk so deep that horses are required to haul it out

(British official photo from Underwood & Underwood)

same point, by promising not to shoot, offering tobacco, &c.

Tobacco may be obtained from the company commander.

9. Each day at 20 o'clock (8 P. M.) the company commanders are obliged to report directly to the head of the bureau of information about the day's events relating to the propaganda. The reports must contain the following information:

(a) When and where newspapers were thrown into trenches or transmitted;

(b) Whether the newspapers were accepted by the enemy;

(c) Whether attempts were made to enter into communication with the enemy; who came from the enemy's side, (soldiers, Sergeants, officers;) with what regiment (judging by objective signs, not by inquiries) negotiations were begun;

(d) Other observations regarding the behavior of the enemy.

At the same time the interpreters attached to the communication posts must send to the head of the bureau of information the contents, word for word, of the conversations which took place during the previous twenty-four hours.

The place and hour of meetings fixed for the next day must be immediately communicated to the head of the bureau of information over the telephone.

10. The enemy sections in which the propaganda is conducted must be shielded from our

artillery fire. We must shoot only if an attack is launched by the enemy. The company commanders will point out the places to be left unharmed to the corresponding batteries: The artillery commander will be warned by the division.

11. The enemy is crafty and faithless. It must, therefore, be borne in mind that he will no doubt try to set traps for our propaganda detachment for the purpose of capturing or killing them. We must act with the utmost care.

Soldiers carrying newspapers and letters must be informed about the conventional (destined to deceive the enemy) disposition of our troops, (I, a, No. 261.)

For the protection of these soldiers special protective detachments must always be organized in our trenches, utmost care being taken that they should not be noticed by the enemy. These detachments must only fire at the order of the Captains who command the communication posts.

12. On the 12th of the month the 62d Army Brigade must submit the names of the company commanders recommended for the position of head of communication post.

J. V. D. B. D. K.

The Chief of the Division, (on leave of absence,) per KREINBERG, (Signature,) General Major and Chief of the 62d Brigade.

Read by RUNK, (Signature,)

Chief of the Company.

Fraternizing Under the Armistice

A German Description

The following description of conditions along the Russo-German front during the armistice that preceded the resumption of the invasion of Russia by the Germans on Feb. 18, 1918, was written by Wilhelm Hegeler, correspondent of the Deutsche Tageszeitung:

WE advance further over a snow-covered meadow. Here and there along the roadside stand bits of camouflage made of trees set in the ground. The storm has torn them loose and blown the snow from their dead branches. Here they stand in heaps, there they have wearily sunk to earth. At slight intervals pieces of fir branches woven together are hung above the road. These, too, are torn and tattered. And both of them, the masks along the road and those above it, seem like the damaged scenery of a play that has been eliminated from the repertory.

"We did not dare show ourselves here a couple of weeks ago," said the Cap-

tain. "The Russians had too able observers and all the camouflage was of no avail, and the artillery fired upon every single man. Right there where the road branches off I had a bad experience. I was going along unsuspectingly when all at once bullets from machine guns began to fall like a shower. Luckily I had good horses, so the sport lasted only a few minutes. And today we go along here as unmolested as in the Gr newald in Berlin."

We get out and I walk through the trenches. At the first glance there is no change. The ground is well swept and the slight traces of snow are tramped down by countless soldier boots.

Smoke curls from all the bombproof shelters. A soldier stands in the kitchen soaking some dried codfish. Only one thing strikes my eye: the trenches are empty. And the first sentry that I encounter is not standing at the observation post, but is sitting comfortably on the breastworks, his rifle on his arm, his frost reddened face wreathed in approving smiles.

I want to share his amusement, so I get up on the breastworks and see that over on the Russian side of the barbed wire entanglements a regular battle is going on. It is waged with snowballs, but it is so strenuous that one might easily believe that our new friends had not yet had enough of war. Now two soldiers are wrestling, a tall fellow and a nimble little chap who charges his opponent like a billy goat, until the big fellow suddenly seizes him by the trousers leg and repeatedly ducks the wriggling figure in the snow. The sentry laughs and acts as if he would like to join the game.

I continue to wander along and wonder where the soldiers are hidden. Now I hear a marching song from the fields of snow. Two companies are coming in. Short pipes hang from under the frosty mustaches of the older men; the young fellows are singing. They have been drilling. It is all over with the sloppy life of active war.

I hunt up the shelter of the regiment's officer in charge of the truce negotiations. He is a young Lieutenant, a teacher in civil life, who has added a little Russian learned out of a grammar to the Polish which he already knew. He told me, however, that he hardly ever had to use it, as there were enough Russians over there who could speak German.

Two officers and several soldiers accompany us on our way to the rendezvous indicated by a white flag. The Lieutenant tells about his previous negotiations with the Russians. For several days they had been meeting almost daily at this or that place and discussing the possibility of peace. There had never been any disagreeable incidents among the German or the Russian infantrymen.

Just once a blustering Russian Major had made his appearance and forbidden these meetings in front of the wire entanglements. But other officers and soldiers had surrounded the Major and had begged the Lieutenant not to be disturbed.

We had scarcely reached the place indicated, which was near the ruins of the royal castle, the walls and watch towers of which consist of only a few scanty fragments since the last battles, when two Russian officers appeared. According to the latest regulation, their uniforms were in nowise different from those of the soldiers. The truce officer introduced us; we shook hands and it was no mere polite phrase when we assured each other that we were glad to make each other's acquaintance.

One of the two officers came from Riga, the other from the Caucasus. Strange to say, the latter spoke much better German than his comrade from Riga. I was anxious to see what sort of conversation it would be and if it would begin rapidly or haltingly. It took place in the most natural way in the world and concerned the very thing that had separated both sides in life and death, but that, now that it was over, as a common experience excluded any feeling of strangeness.

They talked about the last great attack by the Russians on July 23. Thanks to their superiority in force, they had succeeded in breaking through a narrow strip of our line and in penetrating as far as our first line of artillery before they were ejected by a counterattack. "You charged d—d fast that time," said one of the German Lieutenants. "Before the artillery was able to shift its barrage fire forward, you stood in front of our trenches. For the rest, your drum fire didn't do us any damage. We sat in the bombproofs and made music."

"Your artillery fire didn't do us much damage, either," replied the Russian. "The shots were well aimed enough, but the shells didn't do much in the swamp. Your machine guns, on the other hand, kept us pretty busy. * * *"

The conversation halted for a while until the Lieutenant with the scar said:

"It's a funny thing, eh? Three months ago we were exchanging hand grenades and now we are exchanging cigarettes.

But, after all, we are merely like duelists after a round at arms. Why should we be ill-tempered?"

Poland Asserts Herself

A Vigorous Protest Against a Further Partition Is Effective

THE Polish Regency Council, which was set up by the German and Austro-Hungarian Governments, asserted its independence in a striking manner when it was announced that a portion of the Polish domain—the Kholm district—had been ceded to the Ukrainian People's Republic in the peace treaty signed by the Ukrainian delegation and the Teutonic Powers on Feb. 9, 1918. When the cession became known there was great excitement throughout Poland. In many cities black flags were displayed, and there were angry manifestations of protest. The excitement became so intense that in several districts martial law was proclaimed. The indignation was shared by Polish, Czech, Slavic, and Socialist Deputies of the Austrian Reichsrat, who threatened to unite against voting any further budgets unless the treaty was changed.

The opposition became so threatening that the Austrian and German Foreign Ministers modified the objectionable clauses of the treaty. A supplementary declaration, which was given an obscure interpretation in the Reichstag and Reichsrat simultaneously by the German and Austrian Foreign Ministers, respectively, provides that the region is not to be ceded forthwith to the Ukraine, but that its future is to be determined later by a mixed commission of Poles and Ukrainians, empowered to draw the frontier to the east of the line named in the treaty. The passage in the supplementary treaty relating to this point reads:

For the purpose of avoiding all misunderstandings in the interpretation of Clause 2 of Article 2 of the peace treaty concluded at Brest-Litovsk on Feb. 9, 1918, between Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey on the one part and the Ukraine People's Republic on the other, it is hereby declared that the

mixed commission provided for in Paragraph 2 of this article of the treaty shall, in fixing the frontier, not be bound to draw the frontier line through the places of Bielgoraj, Szczeczeszyn, Krasnostaw, Puchaczow, Radzyn, Mezyrecze, and Sarnaki, but shall have the right on the ground of Article 2, Clause 2, of this peace treaty to draw the frontier which may result from ethnographical conditions and from the desires of the local population east of the line named.

The supplementary treaty thus altering the destiny of the Polish region of Kholm was signed on Feb. 18 by representatives of the Ukrainian Rada and the Austro-Hungarian Government. The Austrian Premier, Dr. von Seydler, in announcing the fact the next day before the Austrian Reichsrat, stated that the mixed commission to determine the new boundary would be "composed of representatives of the contracting parties and representatives of Poland," each sending an equal number of delegates to the commission. He added: "No other solution of the Kholm question—the subject of national dispute—was possible without upsetting the prospects of peace."

The compromise saved the Austrian Government from defeat of the budget, but the excitement which swept over Poland did not subside. The act of the Austrian Government in permitting the protest of the Polish Club and the Polish Regency Council to be published and circulated was bitterly criticised and hotly condemned by influential German newspapers and prominent members of the German Junker party.

These two manifestoes are of historic interest, making a new phase of Poland's progress toward real independence.

The manifesto of the Regency was signed by the three members of the council, Prince Lubomirski, Archbishop Kakowski, and Count Ostrowski. Prince Lubomirski is a Conservative, hitherto

opposed to all revolutionary movements. When the Russians withdrew from Warsaw in 1915 he remained as President of the city. The Archbishop, who is the head of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Poland, was regarded heretofore as being entirely under German and Austrian influence. Count Ostrowski was a prominent Conservative Polish statesman before the war, and in 1907 was Chairman of the Polish Club in the Russian Council of the Empire.

The text of the manifesto follows:

When the armies of the Central Powers entered the Polish Kingdom we heard from under their victorious flags the solemn assurances that they brought Poland liberation from a long and heavy yoke. Later came the patents that guaranteed to our country her independence. Lastly, a few months ago, the existence of a sovereign authority of the Polish State was recognized and it was promised help, friendship, and collaboration.

But when the Czar's reign in Russia came to an end and Russia's new rulers began peace negotiations with the Central Powers Poland was not admitted to these negotiations. We demanded our participation in these negotiations earnestly and incessantly. We were promised this participation. Then the answer was delayed, and we were deluded until the plenipotentiaries of Germany and Austria-Hungary decided alone about our frontiers contrary to our rights. We were not admitted, in order that peace might be made at our cost, and in order that the desired safety in the East might be obtained at the price of our nation's living body a piece of Polish land was carved out and given to the Ukrainians.

The wrong of the Czar's Government has been repeated. The nonexistent Government of Kholm has been re-established and enlarged, aggravating the wrong that was done at that time to the Polish Nation. This land transferred to the Ukraine is for the most part Polish and Roman Catholic. Its population proved with its own blood during the infamous religious persecution of 1884 its right to belong to Poland. The population has not been asked to which State it wants to belong. With one stroke of the pen its lot has been decided, and so the self-determination of the nations so often and so solemnly proclaimed by the German and Austrian diplomats has been in Poland's case violated.

Thereby the real significance has been taken from the independence patents, and from the promises of friendship. Poland's independence, her political and economic existence as a State, has become an empty

word, for not only are the interests and rights of Poland overlooked, but her national territory is not respected.

We have taken the oath before God to guard Poland's happiness, liberty, and strength, and today, remembering our oath, we raise our voices before God and the world, before the face of men and the judgment of history, before the German Nation and the nations of Austria-Hungary, in protest against this partition, refusing it our acknowledgment, branding it as an act of brute force.

Declaring once more the violation of the spirit and the real meaning of the independence patent, we will crave the right of exercising the highest authority from the will of the nation, believing that the nation desires to own a symbol of its independence and wants to stand by this symbol.

On this will of the nation we wish to base our mission and our efforts. We will preserve what has been obtained. We will guard our courts of justice, that render their sentence in the name of the Polish Crown; our schools, that are beginning a new life in a Polish spirit. And if we do not obtain the whole of the nation's aspirations we will hand down to our descendants what we have taken from the blood of our forefathers and we will not acknowledge the diminution of our own country.

KAKOWSKI,
OSTROWSKI,
LUBOMIRSKI.

Warsaw, Feb. 14.

POLISH CLUB'S PROTEST

The German newspapers took especial offense at the act of Austria in permitting the following protest of the Polish Club to be published:

The reports of the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk published in the press show that the German delegates have formed ideas in regard to the territories occupied by them, that is to say, in regard to the Kingdom of Poland, which Polish public opinion cannot accept. The German delegates hold, among other things, the theory that "the political bodies authorized to represent the various nationalities in the occupied territories can express the will of the nation," and that, for this reason, they are "from henceforth competent to conclude conventions."

This theory proceeds evidently from a serious and dangerous misunderstanding, which, as regards the parts of Poland in military occupation, ought to be definitely and at once cleared up.

The "temporary and occasional character," to use the expression of the German delegates, of these bodies authorized to represent the population of the Kingdom of Poland has never been doubted by Polish

public opinion. The manner itself in which they were created shows clearly that they cannot pretend to represent the real will of the nation. This fact has not been modified either by the bestowal upon them of pompous titles, which do not, moreover, correspond in any way to the powers actually granted, or by the social position or individual value of the persons intrusted with this provisional mandate.

The assertion of the German delegates that the Polish Nation, in its aspiration to form an independent Polish State, has already declared categorically and as a whole for the separation of the Kingdom of Poland from Russia is perfectly correct. Upon this point there is no dispute. Moreover, Polish public opinion, basing itself upon the principle of the right of all nations to self-determination, a principle now generally admitted by the whole world, is convinced that only the unification of Polish territories will satisfy the nation and enable it to develop in every sense.

These principles are so clearly universal

that they can be represented by any political body, even if only provisional and temporary. But, on the other hand, the legal and political consequences of this national program must of necessity be subject to the consent of a proper national representation, elected on a democratic basis, such as would insure the expression of the national will.

Any exclusion of this condition, any engagement made in the name of the nation, any conclusion of facts of any kind by provisional bodies, would certainly call forth throughout Poland a unanimous protest, a protest against a violation of national rights and interests, which would prove to the world the flagrant contradiction between the principles solemnly proclaimed and the acts wrung from the nation by mere force.

REALIST PARTY.	NATIONAL UNION.
DEMOCRATIC PARTY.	DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY.
PROGRESSIST PARTY.	PARTY FOR ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE.
Warsaw.	

Gorky's View of the Lenine Group

Maxim Gorky, though a Russian Socialist, has shown increasing opposition to the radicalism of the Bolsheviki. The following extract is from an article entitled "I Love Russia," which he published in his magazine, the New Life, at the time of the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations:

We Russians make up a people that has never yet worked in freedom, that has never yet had a chance to develop all its powers and its talents. And when I think that the revolution gives us the possibility of free work, of a many-sided joy in creating, my heart is filled with great hope and joy, even in these cursed days that are besmirched with blood and alcohol.

There is where begins the line of my decided and irreconcilable separation from the insane actions of the People's Commissaries. I consider Maximalism in ideas very useful for the boundless Russian soul; its task is to develop in this soul great and bold needs, to call forth the so necessary fighting spirit and activity, to promote initiative in this indolent soul and to give it shape and life in general.

But the practical Maximalism of the Anarcho-Communists and visionaries from the

Smolny is ruinous for Russia and, above all, for the Russian working class.

The People's Commissaries handle Russia like material for an experiment. The Russian people is for them what the horse is for learned bacteriologists who inoculate the horse with typhus so that the anti-typhus lymph may develop in its blood. Now the Commissaries are trying such a predestined-to-failure experiment upon the Russian people without thinking that the tormented, half-starved horse may die.

The reformers from the Smolny do not worry about Russia. They are cold-bloodedly sacrificing Russia in the name of their dream of the worldwide and European revolution. And just as long as I can, I shall impress this upon the Russian proletarian: "Thou art being led to destruction! Thou art being used as material for an inhuman experiment!"



The Causes of Russia's Downfall

Address by Joseph Reinach

French Historian and Publicist

[Delivered in the Sorbonne, Paris, Dec. 13, 1917, at a meeting for the benefit of the wounded.
Translated from the *Revue Bleue* for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

After discussing the psychological causes of the error made by France and the Allies in believing to the last that Russia would not desert them, M. Reinach undertook to assess dispassionately the good and the evil in Russia's case:

LET us look squarely at Russia's part in events during the four years that we have been at war. I am one of those who have given special study to the long and laborious campaigns of the Russian Army. Let us speak of that army today with the same sincerity, the same frankness, the same regard for truth as in the past; for there was such an army in 1914, and in 1915, and in 1916!

In 1914 France was attacked by Germany simultaneously in Lorraine and in Belgium. Recall the battle of the Marne and ask yourself what would have happened in that battle if the divisions which Hindenburg and Ludendorff called to aid them against the Russians in East Prussia—if those divisions, in place of being on the Vistula, had been on the Ourcq and the Marne.

Unity of action on a united front! We are talking of it today, and may well talk of it, for it cannot be realized too soon. But it was realized that day when we were attacked on the Marne and Ourcq, from Paris to Verdun, and when we won the most brilliant of our victories over the enemy, who, on the eve of that battle, anxious for his dear East Prussia, had sent thither twenty of his best divisions. Did not Russia that day give us the help she owed to us, help which she did not haggle over for an hour, and which was perhaps one of the determining causes of our victory, a victory that is one of the landmarks of history and of civilization? So much for 1914. I pass on to 1915 and 1916. Those armies of the Grand Duke Nicholas,

which in Poland fought that immense battle of the four rivers, whose magnificent history has not yet been written—did not those armies fight nobly and bravely for the common cause? Recall the invasion of Galicia, the fall of Lemberg, the fall of Przemyśl, the menace to Warsaw, the armies that fought their way through the snow of the Carpathians in dead of Winter and began to descend into the plains of Hungary!

THE FIRST FATAL TREASON

Ah! yes, it is true that at that very moment the woes of Russia and the worries of the Entente began. Those admirable soldiers were suddenly left without arms and munitions. We know now, through the Soukhomlinoff trial, why that brave army, in an hour that would perhaps have been decisive, lacked the arms and munitions which it needed; why only one out of every three soldiers had a rifle, the other two being armed with sticks, waiting until a comrade fell to pick up his weapon, and meanwhile offering their bare breasts to the German bullets and shells!

Ah! we historians have no right to forget that martyr army in Galicia and Poland. We cannot forget the millions of the dead and wounded. Do you know the total of Russian losses at the end of 1916? Two million dead, five million wounded, permanently crippled. Yes, I am recalling the memory of those millions of dead today, because in their graves they would have a right to say, if they could know what is going on in Russia now—fraternization in the trenches, voluntary defeats, widespread robbery—they would say that they had died in vain. But they did not die in vain, because we have only to remember those two million graves in order to keep ourselves from being unjust in our re-

proaches today, and to keep alive our own hope for the future.

Now sombre tragedy reigns—anarchy, disorder everywhere, revolt in the trenches. Discipline, the strength of armies, has been abolished. What remains of the Russian armies? You know the long series of defections, treasons, hideous desertions. The narratives told by Russians, the articles in Russian papers, are more tragic, more cruel than any we could invent here.

But I have brought you a document, hitherto unpublished—the appeal of General Korniloff, in the text of which, as well as between the lines, you may read what a Russian soldier can suffer in the presence of such catastrophes. Korniloff is a simple soldier, a self-made man who came up from the ranks, and who, in that land of favoritism, mounted from grade to grade until he reached that of General; who, in the retreat from Galicia, surrounded by enemies, fought to his last cartridge, and who, when captured by the Austrians and carried off to a distant prison, escaped and returned, with the aid of the Rumanians in Transylvania, in order to resume his service immediately and cover himself with new glory in Brusiloff's magnificent offensive of 1916.

KORNILOFF'S APPEAL

When revolution broke out and degenerated into anarchy—we shall see why in due time—Korniloff made the attempt of which you have heard, an attempt that failed for causes, some of which are still shrouded in mystery. And here is the eloquent appeal he addressed to his troops, an utterance that deserves to be known to the western world; it is little known even in Russia, for the successive Governments have not permitted its publication:

Cossacks, brothers, beloved companions, was it not over the graves of your forefathers that the Russian Empire expanded and enlarged its boundaries? Was it not through your strong courage, your high deeds, your sacrifices and heroism, that Great Russia was strong?

You, free and independent sons of the quiet River Don, of the beautiful Kuban, of the impetuous Terek, puissant eagles migrating from the plains and mountains of the Ural, of Orenburg, of Astrakhan,

of Semiretchensk, and from Siberia and the far Transbaikial, from the Amur and the Ussur—to you belongs the glory of having always guarded the honor of your flag, filling the Russian land with the fame of your own and your fathers' deeds.

Today the hour has struck when you must come to the aid of your native land!

I accuse the Provisional Government of indecision in action, of ignorance and incapacity, and of admitting the Germans into the administration, into the interior of our country, in proof of which I cite the explosion at Kasan, where nearly 1,000,000 shells and 12,000 howitzers were destroyed. Moreover, I accuse certain members of the Government of actual treason, and I bring the proofs. When I attended a session of the Provisional Government in the Winter Palace on Aug. 3 Ministers Kerensky and Savinkoff told me that "one could not talk about everything, because there were among the Ministers men of whom one could not be sure." It is clear that such a Government is leading our country to destruction, that under it there can be no safety for unhappy Russia.

Therefore, when the Provisional Government, to please our enemies, yesterday [Sept. 9, 1917] demanded my resignation as Commander in Chief, I, as a Cossack, through duty of conscience and honor, was obliged to refuse the demand, preferring death on the battlefield to opprobrium and treason against my country.

Cossacks! Knights of the Russian land, you promised to rise with me for the safety of the Fatherland when I should judge it necessary. The hour has struck, the Fatherland is on the eve of death! I will not submit to the orders of the Provisional Government, and for the safety of free Russia I will march against it and against those of its counselors who are selling our native land.

Ah, gentlemen, before such a man as Korniloff, in an appeal to his soldiers, could speak such words of his fellow-citizens and rulers—"They are selling our native land"—how he must have suffered! What cruel truths must have forced themselves upon him before he could utter so terrible an accusation in the presence of the world and of history!

THE POISON AT WORK

I have shown you what the Russian Army of 1914 was, and that of 1915 and 1916. What it had become in 1917 you will see from this appeal of Korniloff. How was the gold changed into base lead? I am going to try to tell you, or at least to sketch the history of that metamorphosis. There were two prin-

cial causes of that sad phenomenon. Germany is not very expert in the psychology of nations. She deceived herself regarding Belgium, regarding France, regarding Great Britain and America; but she knew Russia. Or, rather, she did not know all the grandeur and beauty of the Slavic soul; but what she had studied and was resolved to exploit were the two great weaknesses of Russia, the two great causes of its ruin—the long habit of corruption and the ingrained spirit of anarchy.

Corruption in Russia dates from far back. It is not a new phase of Russian history. At the furthest point that we can go back in Russia's historical literature—perhaps it is the earliest Russian document that has been preserved—we find the exhortation of a Bishop, the famous "Instruction" of Bishop Laka Fidiata, who, addressing his flock in 1036, said: "Do not take bribes." In order that a Bishop in 1036 should say publicly in a manuscript that was preserved until the day when print could make it imperishable, "Do not take bribes," the practice must have been already an ancient usage all over that vast Russian land. Perhaps Herodotus, if he had known more about the ancestors of the Russians, could have shown us among the Scythians the origins of the corruptibility of the Russian Governments.

ATTEMPTS AT REFORMATION

In truth, the Russians themselves have often tried hard to combat this official corruption. There is a Russian literary masterpiece that recalls our immortal Figaro (of the eve of 1789): it is "The Inspector General" of Gogol. In the course of four acts of pitiless public denunciation of corruption "The Inspector General" contains a famous scene in which an Inspector, in auditing the accounts of an employe, finds evident traces of bribery; the petty officer admits that he shaved the merchant rather close; the Inspector then says to him: "Look out for yourself, you are not taking according to your rank."

It is this corruption which, little by little, has destroyed the local and national

administrations of Russia, and, still more serious, the morals of the people. Germany has been well aware of the fact, learning of it the more easily because the greater part of the Russian bureaucracy has long been half German. Under the empire, therefore, and then under the new régime, German corruption has never ceased to "work" Russia for Germany's profit.

We who for nearly four years have been fighting the German armies cannot without belittling our own achievements deny their military ability, their discipline, the intelligence of their commanders; but I believe—and history will support me—that German intrigue, German gold, the ancient Rheingold, is what has given Germany her decisive victories in Russia. It was with her gold, her bribery, that she also tried to corrupt other nations—nations which, fortunately, woke up in time.

TREASON RAMPANT

There was corruption under the empire, and there was treason: the treason of Massoïedoff, who, when discovered and denounced by Grand Duke Nicholas, was hanged high and swiftly with some of his accomplices; the treason of the Minister of War. One fine day there were no more guns in the arsenals. And why were there none? Rifles had been offered from all sides—London had offered five million of them. The emissaries of the War Department had not found a large enough bribe in sight, so they had refused the five million rifles. There was political corruption: Protopopoff, the goat from Siberia, Rasputin, Stürmer. One day in the Duma a Deputy, Puriskievich, mounted the tribune and said: "It is forbidden, I know, to speak German in Russia; I will speak only three German words from this tribune: Herr von Stürmer."

And what had gone on under the Czar began again under the Provisional Government. German gold was again at work. The empire had been secretly strangling the war; it inclined toward the grand treason of a separate peace. The empire fell. It was a serious defeat for Germany. Immediately Germany be-

gan pouring fresh funds into her campaign of corruption and infamous propaganda. She carried on this campaign among petty officials and in the Government itself. You have just heard the terrible charge made by Korniloff, based on information from Kerensky. The gangrene spread to the army. Soldiers and civilians, all patriots, fought against the loathsome taint, spending themselves in desperate efforts to check it. But there were more speeches, alas! than acts, and the German propaganda won the day. It was even more successful under the new régime than under the old. Why?

THE BANE OF ANARCHISM

Here we come upon the second cause which I indicated a moment ago: The anarchical spirit of Russia. I do not say that Russia is an artificial structure, but it is without foundations, and terribly fragile. It required all the brutality and all the genius of Peter the Great, with fire and sword, to amalgamate that Russia which we knew yesterday and which is being dismembered today. A country, half European, half Asiatic, on the borders of Western civilization; a country in which the Middle Ages, with their obscure traditions and their dense and sordid ignorance, are mingled with the limitless dreams of our new time, with its mad graspings at the future, its obstinate and morbid taste for illusion, for chimeras, for the most impossible Utopias. It is also the world's most extraordinary conglomeration of nationalities and religions: Old Russians and Little Russians, Ukrainians, Cossacks, Turcomans, Finns, Siberians, Caucasians, Georgians, Jews, Letts, Tartars. Was there, even in the past, one Russia—in the sense that there is one France—a Russia that was "one and inseparable"? The French language of the eighteenth century was more correct and exact: We said then "the Germanys" and "the Russias."

There was a Russia, but it existed only through the Czar, the Emperor of all the Russias. The moment the Czar fell the empire crumbled, disappearing in a few hours, by means of a riot that was perhaps instigated, and by means of a bar-

rack revolution without one arm being raised in defense—the swiftest and most extraordinary collapse probably in all history. The next day what was there in Russia?

LIBERTY WITHOUT LAW

True, there arose a great cry of liberty, a violent desire for reforms. The French Revolution was to be only child's play in comparison with what the Russian revolution was to be. The most advanced legislation of France, England, and America was mere reaction when compared with the Russian Constitution that was to be created. Yes; but the backbone was lacking; that vast body had no skeleton; because that weak Emperor, who desired the good and allowed the evil to be done—because he had disappeared there was no longer a skeleton, a backbone.

The empire crumbled, and on its ruins anarchy arose spontaneously, a week or ten days after the revolution that had brought liberty. And this anarchy contained nothing repugnant to the Russian spirit, because that spirit itself is anarchistic. It is a spirit that is simple with an infantile and touching simplicity, and that is at the same time unbridled. Order is equilibrium, but the very idea of equilibrium is foreign to the Russian mind. It adores softness, humility, kindness; it is full of human pity. But it has respect only for the most brutal force, for "Nagaika." The Latin spirit is constructive, the Russian spirit is destructive. It lives on dreams, whether these be beautiful, mad, or atrocious; reality leaves it indifferent or arouses its scorn. If you cite realities in an argument against their wildest Utopias, they cling to their day-dreams, saying: "So much the worse for reality!"

GERMANY'S EASY PREY

In consequence, Germany's game was only too simple and easy; she fed, fostered, fomented anarchy. From fall to fall, from revolution to revolution, from shame to shame, Russia has thus reached the sinister hour which we now witness, with its traitorous fraternization in the trenches, the cowardly flight of regiments when victory is in their grasp, the

destruction of all authority, the abolition of work, the reign of the mob, the enthronement of a band of theorists and traitors. Between one day and the next the whole face of the earth is to be changed by official order; no more property, no more courts, no more laws. This gang of Calibans caught the peasants with the bait of free land, the workingmen with the bait of pay without work, the soldiers with the bait of security far from bullets and shells. No more treaties! The most sacred were torn up here, too, as scraps of paper. Treason to the revolution! Treason to the Fatherland! The most abominable crime in history is called "peace." There you have the spectacle of the present hour. Yes, it is the dark side.

But perhaps there are still a few rays of light. In the midst of all this frightful anarchy * * * I see Korniloff escaping from his prison, rejoining Kaleidine and Alexeieff. I see the Cossacks

resolved to live free and pure. I see the Ukraine separating itself from Muscovy gone insane. Under the Bolshevik terror, suddenly the Cadet Party begins to bring together its millions. * * *

If today there should escape from our lips irrevocable words against unhappy Russia—the guilty are unhappy—do you know whose game we should be playing? Germany's! Germany sees in Russia a vast land for colonization at her very doors, a land with inexhaustible granaries; Russia, with its mines on the Donetz, its great rivers, its nations, still young, which may some day be great. All these riches Germany is watching. Therefore, let us not, here or elsewhere, speak words that can open a gulf between us and Russia, or that might turn Russia toward Germany.

There is something still more detestable than Russian anarchy, and that is the prospect of order re-established in Russia by Germany.

The Menace of the Modern Thug

Address by Rudyard Kipling

[Delivered at Folkestone, England, Feb. 15, 1918]

ONCE upon a time, a hundred years ago, there was a large and highly organized community in India who lived by assassination and robbery. They were educated to it from their infancy; they followed it as a profession, and it was also their religion. They were called Thugs. Their method was to disguise themselves as pilgrims, or travelers, or merchants, and to join with parties of pilgrims, travelers, and merchants moving about India. They got into the confidence of their victims, found out what they had on them, and in due time—after weeks or months of acquaintance—they killed them by giving them poisoned foods—sweetmeats for choice—or by strangling them from behind, as they sat over the fire of an evening, with a knotted towel or a specially prepared piece of rope. They then stripped the corpse of all valuables, threw it down a well or buried it, and went on to the next job.

At last things got so bad that the Government of India had to interfere. Like all Governments, it created a department—the Department of Thuggee—to deal with the situation. Unlike most departments, this department worked well, and after many years of tracking down and hanging up the actual murderers, and imprisoning their spies and confederates, who included all ranks of society, it put an end to the whole business of Thuggee.

The world has progressed since that day. By present standards of crime those Thugs were ineffective amateurs. They did not mutilate or defile the bodies of the dead; they did not torture, or rape, or enslave people; they did not kill children for fun, and they did not burn villages. They merely killed and robbed in an unobtrusive way as a matter of education, duty, and religion, under the patronage of their goddess, Kali the Destroyer. Very good. At the present moment all

the powers of the world that have not been bullied or bribed to keep out of it have been forced to join in one international department to make an end of German international Thuggee—for the reason that, if it is not ended, life on this planet becomes insupportable for human beings. Even now there are people in England who find it hard to realize that the Hun has been educated by the State from his birth to look upon assassination and robbery, embellished with every treachery and abomination that the mind of man can laboriously think out, as a perfectly legitimate means to the national ends of his country. He is not shocked by these things. He has been taught that it is his business to perform them, his duty to support them, and his religion to justify them. They are, and for a long time past they have been, as legitimate in his eyes as the ballot in ours. This, remember, was as true of the Germans in 1914 as it is now.

People who have been brought up to make organized evil in every form their supreme good because they believe that evil will pay them are not going to change their belief till it is proved that evil does not pay. So far, the Hun believes that evil has paid him in the past and will pay him better in the future. He has had a good start. Like the Thug, the Hun knew exactly what he meant to do before he opened his campaign against mankind. As we have proof now, his poisoned sweetmeats and knotted towels were prepared years beforehand, and his spies had given him the fullest information about all the people he intended to attack. So he is doing what is right in his own eyes. He thought out the hell he wished to create; he built it up seriously and scientifically with his best hands and brains; he breathed into it his own spirit, that it might grow with his needs; and at the hour that he judged best he let it loose on a world that till then had believed there were limits beyond which men born of women dared not sin.

Nine-tenths of the atrocities Germany has committed have not been made public. I think this a mistake. But one gets hint of them here and there—Folkestone

has had more than a hint. For instance, we were told the other day that more than 14,000 English noncombatants, men, women, and children, had been drowned, burned, or blown to pieces since the war began. But we have no conception—and till the veil is lifted after the war we shall have no conception—of the range and system of these atrocities. Least of all shall we realize, as they realize in Belgium and occupied France just across the water, the cold organized miseries which Germany has laid upon the populations that have fallen into her hands, that she might break their bodies and defile their souls. That is part of the German creed. What understanding is possible with a breed that have worked for and brought about these things? And so long as the Germans are left with any excuse for thinking that such things pay, can any peace be made with them in which men can trust? None. For it is the peculiar essence of German Kultur, which is the German religion, that it is Germany's moral duty to break every tie, every restriction, that binds man to fellow-man if she thinks it will pay. Therefore, all mankind are against her. Therefore, all mankind must be against her till she learns that no race can make its way or break its way outside the borders of humanity.

The more we have suffered in this war the more clearly do we see this necessity. Our hearts, our reason, every instinct in us that lifts us above the mere brute shows us that the war must go on. Otherwise, earth becomes a hell without hope. The men, the ships, the munitions must go forward to the war, and behind them must come the money, without which nothing can move. Where our hearts are there must our treasure be also. There has been a great deal of money spent in England lately, several millions a day for the last twelve hundred days. That means that many people have had the chance of earning more money—in some cases very much more money—than they could have earned in peace time. But all the money in the world is no use to a man or his country if he spends it as fast as he gets it. All he has left is his bills and the reputation of

being a fool, which he can get much more cheaply in other ways. There's nothing fine or funny in throwing away cash on things you don't want merely because the cash is there. We've all done it in our time, and we've all had to pay for it. The man who says he never worries about money is the man who has to worry about it most in the long run, and goodness knows there's enough worry in the world already without our going out of our way to add to it. Just now we all have the opportunity of protecting ourselves against private and public anxieties by investing as much as ever we can in war loans.

Money is a curious article. Have you ever thought that invested money is the only thing in the world, outside the army, the navy, and the mercantile marine, that will work for you while you sleep? Everything else knocks off, or goes to bed, or takes a holiday at intervals, but our money sits up all through the year, working to fetch in the 5 per cent. interest that the Government gives on every pound it borrows from us. I am not a financier. But I do know that much, and I do know that a man who has an income, however small, from money he has saved is free of worry and anxiety for himself, his wife, and his children, up to the extent of that income.

It gives him self-respect, a more even temper, a reason for looking at the future with calm and confidence. A man who has wasted or muddled all his pay at the end of the week is the servant of the whole world for his next week's pay. The man who has his bit in hand is independent of the world as far as that bit goes, and that knowledge at the back of one's head must make life a different affair to every thinking man or woman. Savings represent much more than their mere money value. They are proof that the saver is worth something in himself. Any fool can waste. Any fool can muddle, but it takes something of a man to save, and the more he saves the more of a man does it make him. Waste and extravagance unsettle a man's mind for every crisis; thrift, which means some form of self-restraint and continence,

steadies it. And we need steady minds just now.

Remember, too, that everything we waste in the way of manufactured goods, from a match upward, as well as everything we buy that isn't absolutely necessary to get on with, means diverting some man's or woman's time and energy from doing work connected with the war. And war work, which means supplies, food, munitions, ships, is the only thing that is of the least importance now. Everything outside that necessity is danger and waste. So you see we are all in a splendid position to invest. Not only is there more money going about and fewer things to buy with it, but it is also wrong to spend money on what there is available. The road has been cleared of all obstacles to saving. The interest on what we save helps to make us personally independent; the money we lend to the Government helps to set our land and our world free. Our security for our loan is not only the whole of the British Empire, but also the whole of civilization, which has pooled its resources in men, money, and material to carry on this war to victory. Nothing else under heaven matters today except that the war shall go on to that end.

From time to time the representatives of the Allies meet together and lay down what the war aims of the Allies are. From time to time our statesmen repeat them. They all agree we are fighting for freedom and liberty, for the right of small States to exist, and for nations to decide for themselves how they are to be governed. All this we understand and perfectly believe. That is the large view of the situation. What is the personal aspect of the case for you and me? We are fighting for our lives, the lives of every man, woman, and child here and everywhere else. We are fighting that we may not be herded into actual slavery such as the Germans have established by force of their arms in large parts of Europe. We are fighting against eighteen hours a day forced labor under the lash or at the point of the bayonet, with a dog's death and a dog's burial at the end of it. We are fighting that men, women, and children may not be tortured,

burned, and mutilated in the public streets, as has happened in this town and in hundreds of others. And we will go on fighting till the race who have done these things are in no position to continue or repeat their offense.

If for any reason whatever we fall short of victory—and there is no half-way house between victory and defeat—what happens to us? This. Every relation, every understanding, every decency upon which civilization has been so anxiously built up will go—will be washed out, because it will have been proved unable to endure. The whole idea of democracy—which at bottom is what the Hun fights against—will be dismissed from men's minds, because it will have been shown incapable of maintaining itself against the Hun. It will die; and it will die discredited, together with every belief and practice that is based on it. The Hun ideal, the Hun's root notions of life, will take its place throughout the world. Under that dispensation man will become once more the natural prey, body and goods, of his better-

armed neighbor. Women will be the mere instrument for continuing the breed; the vessel of man's lust and man's cruelty; and labor will become a thing to be knocked on the head if it dares to give trouble and worked to death if it does not. And from this order of life there will be no appeal, no possibility of any escape. This is what the Hun means when he says he intends to impose German Kultur—which is the German religion—upon the world. This is precisely what the world has banded itself together to resist. It will take every ounce in us; it will try us out to the naked soul. Our trial will not be made less by the earnest advice and suggestions that we should accept some sort of compromise, which means defeat, put forward by Hun agents and confederates among us. They are busy in that direction already.

But be sure of this: Nothing—nothing we may have to endure now will weigh one featherweight compared with what we shall most certainly have to suffer if for any cause we fail of victory.

Germany's Plan to Divide Belgium

Organization of a So-Called "Council of Flanders" to Separate the Flemings From the Walloons

THE measures recently completed by the German Government for splitting Belgium into two distinct States, dividing the French-speaking Walloons from the Dutch-speaking Flemings, have aroused protests as vigorous as those provoked by the forcible deportations of workmen. About the beginning of 1917 the world began to learn of a carefully managed propaganda which the German conquerors were using to create a schism between the Walloons and Flemings. A few years before the war there had been some agitation to have the Flemish language used along with French in public notices, but both languages already had full legal rights under the Belgian Government, and there was no support for a separatist move-

ment by any faction, however inconsiderable. The movement for separation is wholly a German product.

The late Baron von Bissing, while Governor General of Belgium in 1915-16, sent to the Berlin Government a secret memorandum, the text of which was printed in *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* for February, 1918. In it appeared the following significant passage:

It is true that we must protect the Flemish movement, but never must we lend a hand to make the Flemings completely independent. The Flemings, with their antagonistic attitude to the Walloons, will, as a Germanic tribe, constitute a strengthening of Germanism.

The German authorities proceeded cautiously but persistently in the direction thus indicated. Early in 1917 they

organized what they called the Council of Flanders. They got together some 250 so-called "trustworthy delegates" (Vertrauensleute) for a meeting at Brussels, which, on Feb. 4, 1917, constituted the council. The council seems to have consisted, in the first place, of seven persons, and the number was gradually increased to "about seventy." The original council was promptly received by Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, then Imperial Chancellor, at Berlin, and he promised to promote the Flemish movement in every way possible "at the moment of negotiations for peace and afterward." In March, 1917, the German Government split the administration of Belgium in two, making Brussels the headquarters of a "Flanders" which includes the provinces of Antwerp, Limburg, East Flanders, and West Flanders, and the districts of Brussels and Louvain, and making Namur the headquarters of the provinces of Hainaut, Liège, Luxembourg, and Namur, and the district of Nivelles.

The names of the members of the council have never been published by the Germans, and it is understood that they are persons of no representative standing, being obscure lawyers, teachers, and clerks who have surrendered to German influence.

In the Autumn of 1917 the Germans circulated an official review of the so-called Flemish movement, placing at the top these words:

He who without necessity speaks French in Flanders is guilty of the gravest dereliction of his duty as a German and as a soldier.

The circular went on to give the German Army suitable information concerning Flanders and the Flemings, the history of Flanders since the death of Charlemagne, the Flemish movement before the war, and the measures now taken by the Germans to exploit the movement. The document added: "The German accord with the Flemish movement is approved and ordered by H. M. the German Emperor, so that it is a duty for every German to support it with all his strength."

On Jan. 20, 1918, it was suddenly announced that the Council of Flanders

had, on Dec. 22, "solemnly and unanimously resolved upon the complete independence of Flanders." Moreover, the council has decided "to lay down its mandate," and to present itself for "a new election, which is to give the Flemish people the opportunity to proclaim its will concerning the declaration of independence."

The proclamation of "the complete independence of Flanders" was preceded by the reception at Brussels, on Jan. 15, by a "delegation" of the Council of Flanders, of the German Imperial Secretary of State for the Interior, Herr Wallraf, who said:

In expressing my thanks for your trusting words, I am not addressing strangers, but the representatives of a race which is closely related to us Germans. The people that has seen a Memling and a Rubens, and whose thirst for freedom and heroic courage have been described to us by Conscience, is very close to our minds and our hearts. Therefore we are filled with exalted joy at the fact that it is the victory of German arms that is opening the road to freedom for the Flemish people. You, gentlemen, have been the first among your people to release the lion of Flanders from his chains. From the mouth of the German Chancellor you have learned of our sympathy with your self-elected autonomy. You are about to build up this independence, and to bring further sections of Flanders flocking to your banner of freedom. The work which was begun, at the will of our imperial master, by the unforgotten Baron von Bissing, is being carried on, with clearness of aim and vigor of execution, by the new Governor General, Baron von Falkenhausen.

Sham elections were conducted during February. The facts of this and subsequent events are difficult to obtain, as the German authorities have adopted the policy of multiplying the figures and magnifying a small gathering of 200 or 300 activists, as the separatists are called, into an assemblage of 2,000 to 3,000.

The movement was at first regarded by the Belgians as merely a stupid effort that would soon be abandoned, but the purpose to drive a wedge between the two elements of the people had received the indorsement of the highest German authorities, and the oppressed Belgian patriots found themselves facing a new and serious peril for the future of

their country. They were compelled, therefore, to take such countermeasures as were within their power.

THE PLOT EXPOSED

Eugene Standaert, Deputy for Bruges in the Belgian Parliament, who is in exile in London, exposed the plot in the following address:

The German press announces that on Jan. 15 the members of the so-called Council of Flanders held a meeting in Brussels, where a resolution was passed in favor of "Flemish independence."

Will you allow me, as a Deputy of Flanders who has held his mandate for twenty years without interruption, to give my opinion on this incident? It is of very little importance to us, who know the people thoroughly, but it might cause some harm abroad if it creates the wrong impression that even a certain number of these wish for a settlement which should break up Belgian unity.

What happens at the present moment in Flanders is merely the development of the policy pursued by the German Government on the eastern front. The idea is to create a small body of men, without any following, and induce them, through the distribution of honors and remunerative positions, to adopt and propagate doctrines dictated from Berlin. Such declarations will afterward be represented abroad and in Germany as expressing popular aspirations.

Concerning these recent incidents there are two points which I should like to make plain: First, that this so-called "Landdag van Vlanderen" is really the "Rat von Flanderen," that is to say, an obedient tool made in Germany for German use, and, secondly, that these "representatives of Flemish opinion" do not represent anybody but themselves, and do not include any Fleming of standing or authority.

Any careful reader of the German press and of German official declarations must be convinced that, if the council has not been definitely originated by the German authorities, it has been so much favored and encouraged by them that it has lost every vestige of independence. On March 3, 1917, a delegation of seven members of the council were received by the Chancellor and presented an humble petition asking for a separate administration for Flanders. On March 21 this separation was granted by von Bissing. On Jan. 15, 1918, according to the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Secretary of State Wallraf came to Brussels and received a delegation of the activists, who begged him to declare them free from "the French yoke," and to "protect Flemish auton-

omy." The comedy will no doubt be repeated, and we may rest assured that the activists' request will be granted in due time.

A very interesting document has been published lately by the Belgian Government. It is a series of confidential instructions to the German soldiers billeted in Belgium in which the German authorities declare openly that the separatist movement is prompted and encouraged by the Kaiser, and that it is the duty of every German to support it. After these material and conclusive proofs, it seems evident that the Council of Flanders is just as anxious to put Flanders under effective German protectorate as to withdraw it from an imaginary French yoke.

But what exactly is this Council of Flanders? How is it that when every political liberty has been taken away from their compatriots these men are free to hold meetings, pass resolutions, and present petitions? Have they any following? Have they any right to speak for the Flemings?

Many members of the Belgian Parliament are pure Flemings. Not one of them has consented to join the Council of Flanders. If I consider the situation in my own constituency of Bruges, the Germans have been obliged to accept the help of a general practitioner without standing. While this man has been chosen to represent West Flanders, Count Visart, a venerable man of 80 years of age for fifty years a Deputy of Bruges, for thirty-five Burgomaster of the town, has been dismissed, expelled by the soldiery from his Town Hall, and remains practically a prisoner in his own house. This is how the 850,000 Flemings of West Flanders are represented in the Council of Flanders.

If I turn toward the neighboring province, East Flanders, which counts 1,050,000 inhabitants, the situation is exactly the same. Not one true and responsible representative of the Flemish people has joined the council.

STRIKE OF BELGIAN JUDGES

No patriotic Belgian would have anything to do with the sham elections and packed meetings arranged by the Germans and their agents in furtherance of this project. At one of the trumped-up "demonstrations" in Brussels the people broke through the cordon of troops and hissed a small band of the demonstrators. Arrests were made, and when the prisoners were brought before a Belgian court they were dismissed. Thereupon the German Governor General suspended the court, deported some of its

members, and inflicted fines of 10,000 francs on others.

Early in February, 1918, a gathering of Belgian Ministers of State, Senators, and Deputies resident in the country drew up a resolution requesting the Court of Appeal in Brussels to institute prosecutions against certain specified persons belonging to the Council of Flanders. The resolution recited the circumstances attending the council's proclamation of the complete autonomy of Flanders, and the sham elections held under its auspices, and asserted that these specified persons, by arrogating to themselves legislative and royal powers, constituted a revolutionary committee guilty of infringing certain articles of the Criminal Code.

As a result of this action the Chambers of the Court of Appeal met and unanimously decided upon the prosecution of the council members named. The arrest of two members, Borms and Tack, followed, but the former managed to notify one of the German sentries outside the Law Courts. Governor General von Falkenhausen ordered the immediate release of the arrested members and forbade all further criminal proceedings against them. At the same time three out of the four Presidents of the Court of Appeal were put under arrest and taken to Germany, charged with having received orders from the Belgian Government at Havre.

A strike of the Brussels courts was the reply to this action, and this was followed by strikes of the courts in other Belgian cities, until it was predicted by a Dutch newspaper correspondent that the country would be entirely without courts of justice. The Dutch Minister in Brussels protested to the German authorities against the situation that had arisen.

ACTION OF CITY COUNCILS

Protests against the proclamation of the "independence" of Flanders were drawn up by hundreds of City Councils throughout Belgium, and long lists of these were published in the Amsterdam newspapers. A Council of Belgian Ministers voted the following declaration,

reported by the Wireless Press under date of Feb. 16:

Taking cognizance of the touching protest of Flemish and Walloon Senators and Deputies who have remained in occupied Belgium, as well as of the communal administrators and the judicial body, against the usurpatory pretensions of the so-called Flanders Council, which is protected by the invader, the Government of the King congratulates the constitutionally elected representatives of the Belgian people on having proudly made a stand against foreign interference with the undeniable rights of the national sovereignty.

It applauds the courageous attitude of the Magistracy in not hesitating to demand the application of the laws against bad citizens who are guilty of collusion with the enemy with the criminal design of dismembering the country. It renders solemn homage to the civic heroism of the Belgian people, which is attested by three and a half years of terrible sufferings, during which they have been immutably faithful to King, Constitution, and fatherland. It affirms the unshakable will of the nation to maintain unity and to continue without faltering until the end of the struggle for the freeing of our territory and the integral restoration of independent Belgium.

OFFICIAL PROTEST

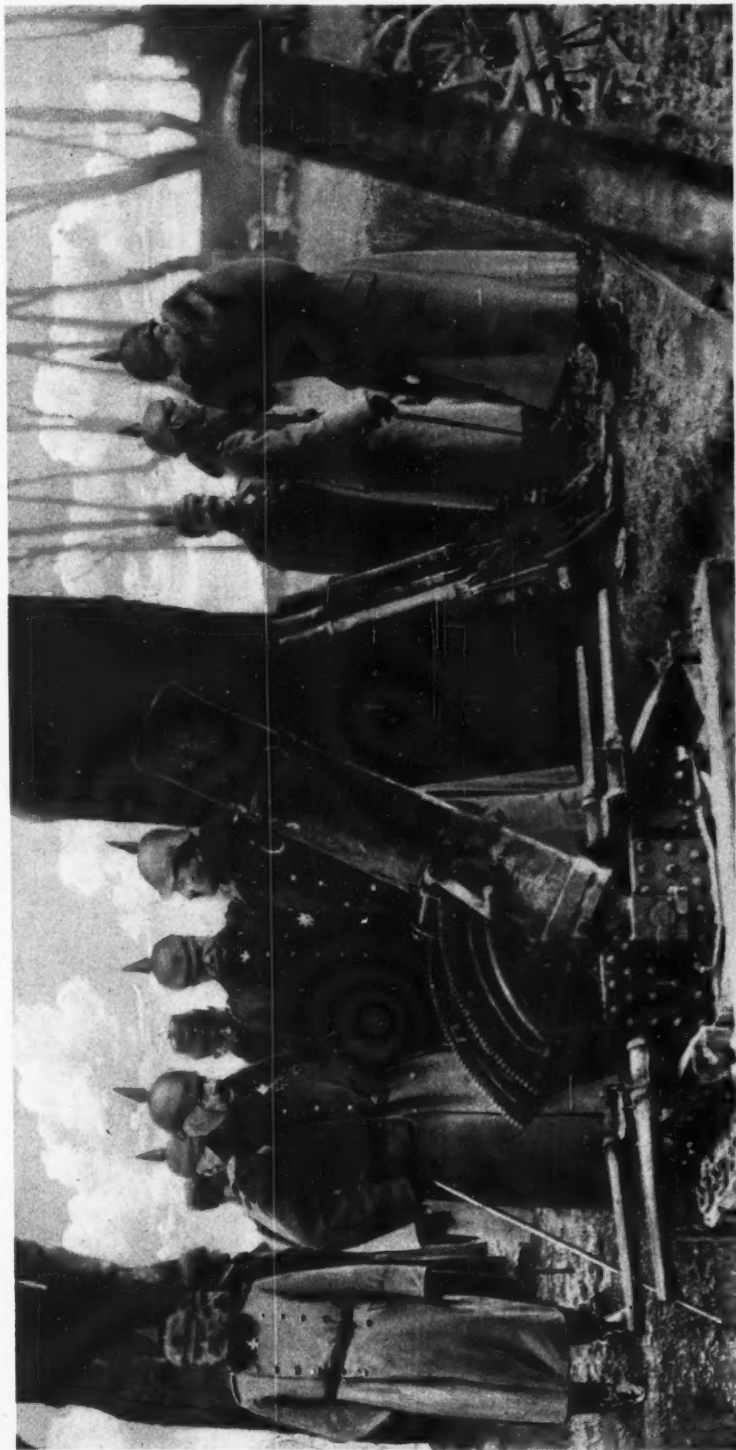
On March 4, 1918, the Belgian Legation at Washington made public the following protest, which had been cabled by the Belgian Government:

The German Governor General in Belgium, General von Falkenhausen, in a letter which has been made public, has replied to the order of the Court of Cassation of the 11th of February, by which the court suspended its sittings without abdicating its powers as a protest against the illegal action of the German authorities in arresting Judges of the Belgian court.

He shamelessly accuses the court of failure to do its duty and of lack of patriotism. He attempts to justify the arrest and deportation of the Judges of the Court of Appeal and the suspension of members of the court by saying that the court proceedings instituted against the activists (the German tools who are trying to separate Flanders from the rest of Belgium) constitute an act of hostility against the occupying power. Falkenhausen thus admits naively and officially that the activists are simply the agents of German policy.

Much satisfaction has been shown in Belgium on account of the fact that the action of the Belgian Judges in performing their legal duty has forced the German authorities to unmask their designs.

THE GERMAN EMPEROR'S VISIT TO THE CAMBRAI BATTLEFIELD



Soon after the Germans regained the ground they lost at Cambria the Kaiser visited the battlefield to inspect the tangible results of the operations

(Photo International Film Service)

BOLO PACHA SENTENCED TO DEATH AS A TRAITOR



The scene when Paul Bolo, or Bolo Pacha, was sentenced to death by the court-martial in Paris as a traitor to France.
He is standing at the back with folded arms

(Photo Pays de France)

It is confirmed that the Germans have deported Judge Levy, the Presiding Judge, and Judges Ernest and Carez, Presidents of the Court of Appeal. They also arrested Judge Jamar in order to deport him, but he was released on account of illness.

The movement of protest by the Belgian people against the intrigues of the activists has taken on large proportions. The voluntary suspension of all judiciary activity, as a protest against the outrage committed against the Court of Appeal of Brussels, has caused a tremendous impression even upon the German authorities. New lists of Communal Councils and of important personalities who have made protests continue to reach Havre, being brought nightly by devoted patriots, who have passed through the electrified front wires in spite of redoubled vigilance on the part of the Germans.

The protest movement is especially active in Flanders. It has been learned that all the Belgian Bishops, being prevented from meeting, have protested separately. Cardinal Mercier has protested in a letter to be read at the beginning of his Lenten letter to his clergy. A collective letter to the German Chancellor has been signed by the principal representatives of commerce at Antwerp and a similar protest has been sent by the Provincial Council of Antwerp.

The Free University of Brussels has sent to the Communal Council of Brussels an energetic letter joining in the protest made by that body. The protest of the Free University is signed by every member of the Faculty.

The Deputies and Senators of East Flanders have sent a separate protest to Chancellor von Hertling.

All these documents are spontaneously copied in handwriting or printed by the clandestine press and circulated from hand to hand in thousands of copies, thereby exciting everywhere the greatest enthusiasm, which has for the moment caused the people to forget the miseries caused by the occupation.

The German authorities, overwhelmed by the patriotic outburst, have officially forbidden all deliberation or discussion in regard to questions of general politics, such as the autonomy of Flanders, and have also forbidden discussion in regard to petitions of protest to the German authorities. Every one who disregards this new German order is menaced with severe punishment in accordance with martial law. This action of the German authorities is a convincing admission that the German administration fears to let the voice of the country be heard in its unanimous protests against the Activists.

The Bishop of Ghent protested against

the intrigue to separate Flanders from the rest of Belgium, saying:

The clergy of our diocese, having been ever noted for their fidelity to the Belgian fatherland, and firmly believing that the love of our country is a duty and a Christian virtue, I deem it my duty to declare in my own name and in the name of the clergy of the Diocese of Ghent, that we are absolutely not in accord with the actions of the committee which calls itself the Council of Flanders, and that we consider it a duty to remain faithful to the ties which bind us to the Belgian fatherland, to its King, and to its Government.

MEASURES OF REPRESSION

The protests of Belgian City Councils against the activists multiplied to such an extent that early in February the German authorities issued orders forbidding Municipal Governments, under severe penalties, to deliberate upon any phase of the question of Belgian partition. Following are translations of two of these circulars. The first, addressed to the communal administrations of the Province of Limburg, is dated Hasselt, Feb. 7, 1918, and reads as follows:

It has been brought to my knowledge that in certain communes it has been proposed to submit to deliberation by the communal administrations certain questions of general politics; for example, the autonomy of Flanders or the petitions of the Burgomasters and Aldermen to the German authorities.

It is for this reason that I call the attention of the communal administrations, and especially of persons acting in the names of communes, that they should limit themselves to dealing with affairs regarding communal administration, and that it is forbidden for them to occupy themselves with affairs regarding the general administration of the country.

Infractions of these regulations will be punished in conformity with martial law. *The President of the Civil Administration for the Province of Limburg.*

(Signed) BAZILLE.

The circular to the Communal Governments in Brabant is dated Brussels, Feb. 7, 1918, and reads as follows:

According to what I have learned it is the intention in certain communes to submit to deliberation by the Common Council certain questions of general politics; for example, the autonomy of Flanders or the requests of the Burgomasters or Aldermen, addressed to the German authorities.

I take this opportunity to call your attention to the fact that the communal

administrations and the representatives of the communes should limit their activity solely to the affairs of the communal administrations and that it is forbidden for them to mix themselves in affairs which interest the country in general.

Contraventions of the present regulation will be repressed with the greatest severity.

The President of the Civil Administration for the Province of Brabant.

(Signed) KRANSEBULER.

FINED 10,000 MARKS

Louis Franck, an Alderman of Antwerp—a Flemish Deputy and leader—at a meeting of the National Committee on Revictualment of Belgium, held early in February, paid a tribute to the patriotic firmness of the Belgians. He was arrested by the German authorities, threatened with deportation, and finally fined 10,000 marks.

A correspondent under date of Feb. 24 wrote to the Belgian Legation at Washington as follows:

The movement on the part of the Flemish population and the municipal authorities in the Flemish districts against the usurpation of power by the self-styled Council of Flanders is gaining ground in occupied Belgium. The Imperial Chancellor is overwhelmed with circular letters of protest and with petitions from Municipal Councils, not only of the cities, but even from the smallest villages of Flanders. For instance, word was received at Havre of new letters of this kind sent by Municipal Councils and notables of twenty-nine communes of the neighborhood of Antwerp, Turnhout, Herenthals, of the north of Brabant, and of the eastern part of Flanders. It is said that many more are on their way. All these protests ardently declare not only the traditional attachment of the signers to the language and the peculiar characteristics of the Flemish people, but likewise their indignation against the farcical movement—entirely unauthorized and unjustified—of the activists, and so give proof, by the moving force of their simplicity and straightforward expression, of their immutable patriotism and wholehearted love for their Belgian fatherland.

History of the Belgian People

How the Modern State Came Into Being

THE Southern Netherlands, populated by the Walloons and Flemings, (the Belgians of today,) were first severed from the Northern Netherlands, (now Holland,) on Jan. 5, 1579. The League of Arras was signed that day, whereby the Walloons, who occupied the southern districts of what were then the Dutch States, declared their adherence to Catholicism and their loyalty to the Spanish King. Brabant and Flanders remained loyal to the Prince of Orange, but in 1582 accepted the Duke of Anjou as the sovereign. This French Prince was inaugurated as Duke of Brabant at Antwerp in February, and as Count of Flanders at Bruges in July, 1582, but he soon withdrew from the country, and the authority of Spain was at once extended over these two provinces as well as the others. Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, was Governor General of the provinces until his death in 1592, when Archduke Ernest of Austria was appointed Governor

General; he died soon afterward and was succeeded by his brother, Cardinal Archduke Albert, who in 1598 married Isabel, eldest daughter of Philip II. of Spain.

Philip erected the entire Netherlands into a sovereign State under the joint rule of Albert and Isabel. The Dutch refused to surrender their independence, and after a struggle the King of Spain on April 9, 1609, agreed to a twelve-year truce with the United Provinces, at the same time acknowledging them as free States. The Archduke died without issue, and the provinces reverted to the Crown of Spain and were known as the Spanish Netherlands. In 1648 Spain renounced its claims to the United Provinces and made concessions to the Dutch which provided for the closing of the River Scheldt to all ships, thus practically destroying the commerce of the Belgic provinces.

These provinces during the decades that followed were constantly exposed

to attack as outlying Spanish dependencies, and as the fortunes of Spain declined suffered frequent loss of territory. In 1692 the Spanish King nominated Maximilian Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria, to be Governor General, and a brighter future seemed to be opening for the country. The dynastic jealousies between the European powers, however, soon again made the unhappy provinces a battle ground, and after years of warfare a general peace was concluded at Utrecht April 11, 1713, whereby the long connection of the provinces with Spain was severed and they came under the sovereignty of Austria, being known for a full century thereafter as the Austrian Netherlands.

BELGIAN NAME ADOPTED

In 1789 the people of Brussels rose against the Austrian garrison and compelled it to capitulate, and on the 27th the States of Brabant declared their independence. The other provinces followed, and on Jan. 11, 1790, they all united and formed themselves into an independent State under the name of the "Belgian United States." In November, 1790, the new Government collapsed before the advance of the Austrians, and Austrian rule was re-established. It was short lived, however, for France now assailed Austria, and the battle of Fleurus, June 26, 1794, put an end to Austrian domination in the Netherlands.

Belgium became an integral part of France, being governed on the same footing as the French people. After the fall of Napoleon, May 30, 1814, Belgium was for some months restored to Austria, but shortly afterward was united with Holland to form the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The sovereignty of the new State was given to the Prince of Orange, who ascended the throne March 23, 1815, with the title of William I. The Congress of Vienna, May 31, 1815, determined the boundaries of the new kingdom. The Constitution was promulgated on Aug. 24 following, and the King took the oath of office at Brussels Sept. 7.

The relations between Holland and Belgium from the outset were strained.

The Dutch and the Belgian provinces were totally unlike in religion, habits, and ideas, and had drifted apart during the 130 years of their separation. The Belgians were nearly 100 per cent. Catholics, and the two decades of French sovereignty had left deep traces on a considerable portion of the population, the French language being commonly spoken and exclusively used in law courts and public proceedings.

The Dutch control was not exercised in a conciliatory spirit, and though the Belgian provinces had 3,400,000 inhabitants to a little more than 2,000,000 in Holland, the great majority of Government offices were held by the Northerners. In 1830, of seven Ministers, only one was Belgian; in the Home Department, of 117 officials only 11 were Belgians; in the Ministry only 3 were Belgians out of 102; in the army there were 288 Belgian officers to 1,967 Hollanders. All the public establishments, the banks, and the military schools were Dutch. The King endeavored to make the Flemish language (the Dutch) the official language for all public and judicial acts except in the Walloon (extreme southern) districts.

The strife between sections grew more bitter when in 1830 the spirit of unrest was fanned by the successful revolution in Paris. A mob took possession of Brussels and disorders immediately followed throughout the Belgian provinces. The Dutch Government was dilatory and indecisive, and after a failure by Dutch troops to obtain control of Brussels, a Provisional Government was quickly formed and separation demanded. The King of the Netherlands requested the five European powers to intervene, and a convention was held at London early in November.

MODERN BELGIUM CREATED

Meanwhile on Nov. 10, 1830, the new Belgian National Congress met at Brussels with 200 Deputies and reached the following decisions: First, the independence of the country carried unanimously; second, a constitutional hereditary monarchy, 174 votes against 13; third, the perpetual exclusion of the Orange-Nassau

family, 161 votes against 28. On Dec. 20 the London conference proclaimed the dissolution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. On Jan. 28, 1831, the Belgian Congress elected its King, the Duke of Nemours, second son of Louis Phillippe, but he declined. Baron Surlet de Chokier was elected to the temporary post of Regent, and a Constitution was drawn up on the British Parliamentary pattern. The Constitution expressly declared that the King had no powers except those formally assigned to him; Ministers were to be appointed by him, but were to be responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. On June 4, 1831, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the widower of Princess Charlotte of Great Britain, was elected King by a vote of 152 to 44, it being ascertained that his selection would be approved by the powers, and he formally accepted the throne and made his public entry into Brussels June 21, 1831.

Holland made a show of force to resist the enthronement of the new sovereign, but, on the approach of a French army, withdrew from Belgium.

Meanwhile, the conference at London drew up a treaty for the separation of Holland and Belgium, which was declared final and irrevocable. It was signed Nov. 15, 1831, and the powers recognized the independence of Belgium "as a neutral State." The Belgian and French sovereigns ratified it on Nov. 20

and 24, the British on Dec. 6, and Austria, Prussia, and Russia five months later; the latter three delayed because their sympathies were with the King of Holland. King William of Holland was obdurate and refused to sign or to surrender Antwerp. The French and British resolved at length to force his acceptance, and a French army of 60,000 men under Marshal Gerard crossed the Belgian frontier to besiege Antwerp on Nov. 5, 1831. The Dutch garrison capitulated Dec. 23, and the Belgians took possession Dec. 31. It was not until March 14, 1838, that Holland signified its readiness to accept the treaty, and it was signed April 19, 1839.

The following interesting table gives the languages spoken by the Belgians at the periods named:

	1880.	1890.	1900.	1910.
French only . . .	2,230,316	2,485,072	2,574,805	2,833,334
Flemish only . . .	2,485,384	2,744,271	2,822,005	3,220,662
German only . . .	39,550	32,206	28,314	31,415
French & Flemish.	423,752	700,997	801,587	871,288
French & German.	35,250	58,590	66,447	74,993
Flemish & German.	2,956	7,028	7,238	8,652
The three languages	13,331	13,185	42,889	52,547

The population of Belgium in 1912 was 7,571,387.



The Long-Distance Peace Parley

Address by the German Chancellor in Reply to
President Wilson—Mr. Balfour's Rejoinder

The March issue of Current History Magazine printed the long-distance exchange of peace views between the warring powers as embodied in the addresses of the German Chancellor on Jan. 24, the Austrian Foreign Minister on the same date, President Wilson's reply on Feb. 11, and Premier Lloyd George's reply on Feb. 12. The German Imperial Chancellor made a new declaration of the war policy of his Government on Feb. 25; Arthur Balfour, British Foreign Minister, answered him on Feb. 27. These two addresses appear in their sequence in the following pages. As reference is made to President Wilson's four fundamentals, they are reprinted herewith:

[From the President's Address of Feb. 11 Before Congress.]

First—That each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.

Second—That peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power; but that,

Third—Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims among rival States; and,

Fourth—That all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe, and consequently of the world.

Chancellor von Hertling's Address

[Delivered Before the Reichstag Feb. 25, 1918.]

THE Reichstag has a right to receive an explanatory statement in regard to the foreign situation and the attitude of the Government concerning it. I will meet the obligation arising therefrom, even though I entertain certain doubts as to the utility and success of dialogues carried on by Ministers and statesmen of belligerent countries.

Mr. Runciman in the House of Commons recently expressed the opinion that we would get much nearer peace if, instead of this, responsible representatives of the belligerent powers would come together in an intimate meeting for discussion. I can only agree with him that that would be the way to remove numerous intentional and unintentional misun-

derstandings and compel our enemies to take our words as they are meant, and on their part also to show their colors.

I cannot at any rate discover that the words which I spoke here on two occasions were received in hostile countries objectively and without prejudice. Moreover, discussion in an intimate gathering alone could lead to understanding on many individual questions which can really be settled only by compromise.

It has been repeatedly said that we do not contemplate retaining Belgium, but that we must be safeguarded from the danger of a country with which we desire after the war to live in peace and friendship becoming the object or the jumping-off ground of enemy machinations. If, therefore, a proposal came

from the opposing side—for example, from the Government in Havre—we should not adopt an antagonistic attitude, even though the discussion at first might only be unbinding.

Meanwhile it does not appear as if Mr. Runciman's suggestion has a chance of assuming tangible shape, and I must adhere to the existing methods of dialogue across the Channel and ocean.

REPLY TO PRESIDENT WILSON

Adopting this method, I readily admit that President Wilson's message of Feb. 11 represents, perhaps, a small step toward a mutual rapprochement. I therefore pass over the preliminary and excessively long declarations in order to address myself immediately to the four principles which, in President Wilson's opinion, must be applied in a mutual exchange of views.

The first clause says that each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.

Who would contradict this? The phrase, coined by the great father of the Church, Augustine, 1,500 years ago—"justitia fundamentum regnorum"—is still valid today. Certain it is that only peace based in all its parts on the principles of justice has a prospect of endurance.

The second clause expresses the desire that peoples and provinces shall not be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power.

This clause, too, can be unconditionally assented to. Indeed, one wonders that the President of the United States considered it necessary to emphasize it anew. This clause contains a polemic against conditions long vanished, views against Cabinet politics and Cabinet wars, against mixing State territory and princely and private property, which belong to a past that is far behind us.

I do not want to be discourteous, but when one remembers the earlier utter-

ances of President Wilson, one might think that he is laboring under the illusion that there exists in Germany an antagonism between an autocratic Government and a mass of people without rights.

And yet President Wilson knows (as, at any rate, the German edition of his book on the State proves) German political literature, and he knows, therefore, that with us Princes and Governments are the highest members of the nation as a whole, organized in the form of a State, the highest members, with whom the final decision lies. But, seeing that they also, as the supreme organs, belong to the whole, the decision is of such a nature that only the welfare of the whole is the guiding line for a decision to be taken. It may be useful to point this out expressly to President Wilson's countrymen.

Then finally at the close of the second clause the game of the balance of power is declared to be forever discredited. We, too, can only gladly applaud. As is well known, it was England which invented the principle of the maintenance of the balance of power in order especially to apply it when one of the States on the European Continent threatened to become too powerful for her. It was only another expression for England's domination.

The third clause, according to which every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims among rival States, is the only application of the foregoing in a definite direction, or a deduction from it, and is therefore included in the assent given to that clause.

Now, in the fourth clause he demands that all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe, and consequently of the world. Here, also, I can give assent in principle, and I declare, therefore, with President

Wilson, that a general peace on such a basis is discussable.

"IN ADVANCE OF REALITIES"

Only one reservation is to be made. These principles must not be proposed by the President of the United States alone, but they must also be recognized definitely by all States and nations. President Wilson, who reproaches the German Chancellor with a certain amount of backwardness, seems to me in his flight of ideas to have hurried far in advance of existing realities.

Certainly a League of Nations, erected upon justice and mutual unselfish appreciation, a condition of humanity in which war, together with all that remains of the earliest barbarism, should have completely disappeared and in which there should be no bloody sacrifices, no self-mutilation of peoples, no destruction of laboriously acquired cultural values—that would be an aim devoutly to be desired.

But that aim has not yet been reached. There does not yet exist a court of arbitration set up by all nations for the safeguarding of peace in the name of justice. When President Wilson incidentally says that the German Chancellor is speaking to the court of the entire world, I must, as things stand today, in the name of the German Empire and her allies, decline this court as prejudiced, joyfully as I would greet it if an impartial court of arbitration existed and gladly as I would co-operate to realize such ideals.

Unfortunately, however, there is no trace of a similar state of mind on the part of the leading powers in the Entente. England's war aims, as recently expressed in Lloyd George's speeches, are still thoroughly imperialistic and want to impose on the world a peace according to England's good pleasure. When England talks about peoples' right of self-determination, she does not think of applying the principle to Ireland, Egypt, or India.

DENIES AIM OF CONQUEST

Our war aims from the beginning were the defense of the Fatherland, the maintenance of our territorial integrity, and the freedom of our economic devel-

opment. Our warfare, even where it must be aggressive in action, is defensive in aim. I lay especial stress upon that just now in order that no misunderstandings shall arise about our operations in the east.

After the breaking off of peace negotiations by the Russian delegation on Feb. 10 we had a free hand as against Russia. The sole aim of the advance of our troops, which was begun seven days after the rupture, was to safeguard the fruits of our peace with Ukraine. Aims of conquest were in no way a determining factor. We were strengthened in this by the Ukrainians' appeal for support in bringing about order in their young State against the disturbances carried out by the Bolsheviks.

If further military operations in other regions have taken place, the same applies to them. They in no way aim at conquest. They are solely taking place at the urgent appeals and representations of the populations for protection against atrocities and devastation by Red Guards and other bands. They have, therefore, been undertaken in the name of humanity. They are measures of assistance and have no other character. It is a question of creating peace and order in the interest of peaceable populations.

We do not intend to establish ourselves, for example, in Esthonia or Livonia. In Courland and Lithuania our chief object is to create organs of self-determination and self-administration. Our military action, however, has produced a success far exceeding the original aim.

News was received yesterday that Petrograd had accepted our conditions and had sent its representatives to Brest-Litovsk for further negotiations. Accordingly, our delegates traveled thither last evening. It is possible that there will still be dispute about the details, but the main thing has been achieved. The will to peace has been expressly announced from the Russian side, while the conditions have been accepted and the conclusion of peace must ensue within a very short time.

To safeguard the fruits of our peace with Ukraine, our army command drew the sword. Peace with Russia will be the happy result.

RUMANIA AND POLAND

Peace negotiations with Rumania began at Bucharest yesterday. It appeared necessary that Secretary von Kühlmann should be present there during the first days when the foundations were laid. Now, however, he will presumably soon go to Brest-Litovsk. It is to be remembered regarding negotiations with Rumania that we are not taking part in them alone, and are under obligation to champion the interests of our allies, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, and to see to it that a compromise is arranged there regarding any divergent desires that will possibly give rise to difficulties, but these difficulties will be overcome.

With regard to Rumania, too, the guiding principle will be that we must, and desired to, convert into friends the States with which on the basis of the success of our army we now conclude peace.

I will say a word regarding Poland, in behalf of which the Entente and President Wilson have recently appeared specially to interest themselves, as a country liberated from oppressive independence of Czarist Russia by the united forces of Germany and Austria-Hungary, for the purpose of establishing an independent State, which, in unrestricted development of its national culture, shall at the same time become a pillar of peace in Europe.

The constitutional problem—in the narrower sense the question what constitution the new State shall receive—could not, as is easily understood, be immediately decided, and is still in the stage of exhaustive discussions between the three countries concerned. A fresh difficulty has been added to the many difficulties which have in this connection to be overcome, difficulties especially in the economic domain in consequence of the collapse of old Russia. This difficulty results from the delimitation of the frontier between the new

State and adjacent Russian territory. For this reason the news of peace with the Ukraine at first evoked great uneasiness in Poland. I hope, however, that with good-will and proper regard to the ethnographical conditions a compromise on the claims will be reached. The announced intention to make a serious attempt in this direction has greatly calmed Polish circles.

In the regulation of the frontier question only what is indispensable on military grounds will be demanded on Germany's part.

"ENTENTE AGGRESSION"

The Entente is fighting for the acquisition of portions of Austro-Hungarian territory by Italy and for the severance of Palestine, Syria, and Arabia from the Turkish Empire.

England has particularly cast an eye on portions of Turkish territory. She has suddenly discovered an affection for the Arabians and she hopes by utilizing the Arabians to annex fresh territories to the British Empire, perhaps by the creation of a protectorate dependent upon British domination.

That the colonial wars of England are directed at increasing and rounding out the enormous British possessions, particularly in Africa, has been repeatedly stated by British statesmen.

In the face of this policy Entente statesmen dare to represent Germany as the disturber of peace, who, in the interest of world peace, must be confined within the narrowest bounds. By a system of lies and calumny they endeavor to instigate their own people and neutral countries against the Central Powers and to disturb neutral countries with the spectre of the violation of neutrality by Germany.

Regarding the intrigues recently carried on in Switzerland we never thought, nor will we think, of assailing Swiss neutrality. We are much indebted to Switzerland. We express gratitude to her, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, and Spain, which by her geographical position is exposed to especial difficulties, and no less to the extra-European countries which have not entered the war,

for their manly attitude in that, despite all temptations and oppressions, they preserve their neutrality.

The world yearns for peace and desires nothing more than that the sufferings of war under which it groans should come to an end. But the Governments of the enemy States contrive ever anew to stir the war fury among their peoples. A continuation of the war to the utmost was, so far as has transpired, the most recent watchword issued by the conference of Versailles, and in the English Premier's speeches it again finds loud echo. There are, however, other voices to be heard in England; it is to be hoped that these voices will multiply.

Our people will hold out further, but the blood of the fallen, the agonies of the mutilated and the distress and sufferings

of the peoples will fall on the heads of those who insistently refuse to listen to the voice of reason and humanity.

NOTE.—Count Hertling's speech of Jan. 24, 1918, printed in *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* last month from a cabled report, contained the sentence: "So long as our opponents have unreservedly taken the standpoint that the integrity of the Allies' territory can offer the only possible basis of peace discussion," &c. The German text received later through the Wolff News Bureau of Berlin shows that this sentence should read: "So long as our opponents do not unreservedly take the standpoint that the integrity of the [Teutonic] allies' territory can offer the only possible basis of peace discussion," &c. Regarding President Wilson's proposal on colonial questions, Count Hertling on that occasion should have been made to say: "I believe that for the present it may be left to the greatest colonial empire, England, to come to terms with her allies over this proposal."

Mr. Balfour's Reply to Count Hertling

[Delivered in Parliament Feb. 27, 1918]

THE British Foreign Secretary, Arthur J. Balfour, replying in the House of Commons to the German Chancellor regarding the doctrine of the balance of power, said that until German militarism had become a thing of the past, and there was in existence a hall or court armed with executive powers making the weak as safe as the strong, it would never be possible to ignore the principles underlying the struggle for the balance of power. Mr. Balfour told the House that he was unable to find in von Hertling's speech any basis for fruitful conversation or hope for peace. Replying to a question, Mr. Balfour said that the fate of the Russian provinces occupied by the Germans and of Rumania and Armenia must ultimately be decided at the peace conference. Mr. Balfour justified his attitude on the ground that von Hertling and Czernin spoke after a conference and agreement.

BELGIUM THE TOUCHSTONE

Mr. Balfour declared Count Hertling's reference to Belgium to be unsatisfactory to everybody—except Richard Holt, a Radical M. P.—and continued:

"Many questions must be settled at the peace conference, but the question of Belgium is the best touchstone of the honesty of purpose of Central European diplomacy, and especially of German diplomacy. There is only one course for the offending nation in this case, namely, unconditional restoration and reparation.

"When was Belgium the jumping off ground of enemy machinations and why should Germany suppose it is going to be? Belgium has been the victim, not the author, of these crimes, and why should she be punished because Germany is guilty? Germany always had in mind new territorial, commercial or military conditions which would prevent Belgium from taking an independent place among the nations, which Germany and ourselves were pledged to preserve.

"What we have to consider is how far von Hertling's lip service to President Wilson's four propositions really is exemplified by German practice."

The Foreign Secretary then analyzed the four Wilson propositions and von Hertling's attitude concerning them, as well as the Chancellor's frame of mind regarding Alsace-Lorraine. He said:

"I could understand a German taking a different view from the view of the French, British, Italian, or American Government, but not a German discussing the principles of essential justice and saying: 'There is no question of Alsace-Lorraine to go before a peace conference.'

"Regarding President Wilson's second proposition, we have had within the last few weeks a specimen of how von Hertling interprets in action the principle he so glibly approves in theory. To take one instance only, there is the cession of Polish territory to the Ukraine. We would like to know how the Germans came to make this gross violation of their principle.

TURKEY AND PALESTINE

"Coming to the third proposition, von Hertling says, with justice, that the doctrine of the balance of power is a more or less antiquated doctrine. He further accuses England of being the upholder of that doctrine for purposes of aggrandizement. That is a profoundly unhistorical method of looking at the question. Great Britain has fought time and again for the balance of power, because only by fighting could Europe be saved from the domination of one overbearing and aggressive nation.

"If von Hertling wants to make the balance of power antiquated, he can do it by inducing his countrymen to abandon that policy of ambitious domination which overshadows the world at this moment.

"As to President Wilson's third and fourth principles: Consider for a moment how von Hertling desires to apply the principle that the interest and benefit of the populations concerned should be considered in peace arrangements. He mentions three countries he wishes to see restored to Turkey, namely, Armenia, Palestine, and Mesopotamia.

"Does any one think that this would be to the interest and benefit of the populations concerned? Von Hertling accuses us of being animated with purely ambitious designs when we invaded Mesopotamia and captured Jerusalem. I suppose he would say that Russia was simi-

larly moved when she occupied Armenia. But when Turkey went to war she picked a quarrel with us for purely ambitious purposes. She was promised by Germany the possession of Egypt. Would the interest and happiness of the population of Egypt be best conserved by Turkish conquest of Egypt?

"The Germans in the search for the greatest happiness of these populations would have restored Egypt to the worst rule the world has ever known. They would have destroyed Arab independence and abandoned Palestine to those who had rendered it sterile all these centuries.

"How could any one preach seriously a profession of faith about the interests of populations after this evidence of the manner in which von Hertling desires to see it carried out? If the Reichstag had any sense of humor it must surely have smiled when it heard the Chancellor dealing in that spirit with the dominating doctrine of every important German statesman, soldier, and thinker for two generations at least.

"So much for the four principles which Mr. Holt says von Hertling accepts, and which he thinks the British Government is backward in not accepting. I hope my short analysis may have convinced him that there are two sides to that question.

GERMANY'S RUSSIAN POLICY

"I cannot, however, leave von Hertling without making some observation upon the Russian policy which he defines. That also is a demonstration of German methods. He tells us the recent arrangements with Russia were made on the urgent appeal of the populations for protection against the Red Guard and other bands, and, therefore, undertaken in the name of humanity.

"We know that the East is the East and the West is the West and that the German policy of the West is entirely different from the German policy of the East. The German policy in the East recently has been directed toward preventing atrocities and devastation in the interest of humanity, while German policy in the West is occupied entirely in

performing atrocities and devastations. Why this difference of treatment of Belgium on one side and other populations on the other? I know of no explanation, except that Germany pursues her methods with remorseless insistency and alters or varies the excuse she gives for her policy.

"If she invades Belgium, it is military necessity; if Courland, it is in the interest of humanity. It is impossible to rate very high the professions of humanity, international righteousness and equity in regard to those populations which figure so largely in the speeches. I am quite unable to understand how anybody can get up in the Reichstag and claim that Germany is waging a defensive war."

Mr. Balfour then contrasted the different methods pursued by Germany and Great Britain in the expansion of their empires, and asserted that Germany's policy had been more deliberately ambitious than that of any nation since the days of Louis XIV. He concluded:

"I am convinced that to begin negotiations, unless you see your way to carry them through successfully, would be to commit the greatest crime against the future peace of the world, and, therefore, while I long for the day when negotiations may really begin, negotiations which must have preparations for the bringing of ideas closer together, I do believe I should be doing an injury to the cause of peace if I encourage the idea that there is any use in beginning these verbal negotiations until something like a general agreement is apparent in the distance and until the statesmen of all the countries see their way to that broad settlement, which, it is my hope, will bring peace to this sorely troubled world."

LORD CECIL'S SPEECH

Lord Robert Cecil, Minister of Blockade, said regarding Hertling's speech:

"It would be foolish to enter into negotiations unless there were a reasonable prospect of success. We do not desire to repeat the experiment of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations."

Lord Robert said that as Trustee for the empire the Government must take reasonable precautions to avoid enemy

traps. It must have a guarantee that the enemy was sincerely and genuinely trying to meet Great Britain's essential demands.

"There must be no humbug about Belgium," Lord Robert continued. "Certainly Belgium is not the only issue, but it is a test, and before we can consent to enter into negotiations we must be perfectly satisfied that the Central Powers mean to restore Belgium absolutely and do their best to repair the greatest international wrong committed for centuries.

"I can find no trace of that in von Hertling's speech. The Germans have never conveyed to us in any shape or form the fact that they are ready to restore Belgium."

BELGIUM'S ANSWER

The following official statement was made by the Belgian Government through Baron de Broqueville, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in reply to the German Chancellor's invitation:

The Belgian Government's views are known and have not changed. It affirmed them quite recently. In its answer to the Holy See on Dec. 24 the Belgian Government said:

"The integrity of the metropolitan and colonial territory; political, economic and military independence without condition or restriction; reparation for damages and guarantees against repetition of the aggression of 1914 are the indispensable conditions for a just peace as far as Belgium is concerned."

The Belgian Government has already declared and repeated that it will not discuss peace except in consort with the powers which guaranteed its independence and which have fulfilled their obligations toward Belgium.

The English, American, and French newspapers were practically unanimous in declaring the Chancellor's speech inconclusive and unsatisfactory, bringing an agreement no nearer. Lord Lansdowne, former British Foreign Minister, who had previously published a letter declaring that a peace conference was advisable, again declared in a public letter that, while he found the address in reference to Belgium vague, he felt that the acceptance of the four propositions gave encouragement.

LABOR'S WAR AIMS

Declaration of the Interallied Labor-Socialist Conference in London

*A conference of the Labor and Socialist Parties was held at London on Feb. 21, 22, and 23, 1918. It was attended by delegates from Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium, and by consultative delegates from organizations in South Africa, Rumania, and the South Slavic States. A cablegram was received from the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor declaring: "We cannot meet with representatives of those who are aligned against us in this world war for freedom, but we hope they will sweep away the barriers which they have raised between us. * * * We assure the conference that we are pledged, and will give our full man power and at least half our wealth power in the struggle to secure for the world justice, freedom, and democracy." The conference adopted a formal declaration of war aims. The clause with reference to Alsace-Lorraine was later indorsed by the French Socialists and Labor Party by practically a unanimous vote. The conference sent delegates to the United States to confer with the American Federation of Labor. The declaration of war aims is given in full herewith:*

I.—The Origin of the War

THE Interallied Conference declares that, whatever may have been the causes of the outbreak of war, it is clear that the people of Europe, who are necessarily the chief sufferers from its horrors, had themselves no hand in it. Their common interest is now so to conduct the terrible struggle in which they find themselves engaged as to bring it, as soon as may be possible, to an issue in a secure and lasting peace for the world.

The conference sees no reason to depart from the following declaration unanimously agreed to at the conference of the Socialist and Labor Parties of the allied nations on Feb. 14, 1915:

This conference cannot ignore the profound general causes of the European conflict, itself a monstrous product of the antagonisms which tear asunder capitalist society and of the policy of colonial dependencies and aggressive imperialism, against which international socialism has never ceased to fight, and in which every

Government has its share of responsibility.

The invasion of Belgium and France by the German armies threatens the very existence of independent nationalities, and strikes a blow at all faith in treaties. In these circumstances a victory for German imperialism would be the defeat and the destruction of democracy and liberty in Europe. The Socialists of Great Britain, Belgium, France, and Russia do not pursue the political and economic crushing of Germany; they are not at war with the peoples of Germany and Austria, but only with the Governments of those countries by which they are oppressed. They demand that Belgium shall be liberated and compensated. They desire that the question of Poland shall be settled in accordance with the wishes of the Polish people, either in the sense of autonomy in the midst of another State or in that of complete independence. They wish that throughout all Europe, from Alsace-Lorraine to the Balkans, those populations that have been annexed by force shall receive the right freely to dispose of themselves.

While inflexibly resolved to fight until

victory is achieved to accomplish this task of liberation, the Socialists are none the less resolved to resist any attempt to transform this defensive war into a war of conquest, which would only prepare fresh conflicts, create new grievances, and subject various peoples more than ever to the double plague of armaments and war.

Satisfied that they are remaining true to the principles of the International, the

members of the conference express the hope that the working classes of all the different countries will before long find themselves united again in their struggle against militarism and capitalist imperialism. The victory of the allied powers must be a victory for popular liberty, for unity, independence, and autonomy of the nations in the peaceful federation of the United States of Europe and the world.

II.—Making the World Safe for Democracy

Whatever may have been the objects for which the war was begun, the fundamental purpose of the Interallied Conference in supporting the continuance of the struggle is that the world may henceforth be made safe for democracy.

Of all the conditions of peace none is so important to the peoples of the world as that there should be henceforth on earth no more war.

Whoever triumphs, the peoples will have lost unless an international system is established which will prevent war. What would it mean to declare the right of peoples to self-determination if this right were left at the mercy of new violations, and was not protected by a supernational authority? That authority can be no other than the League of Nations, in which not only all the present belligerents, but every other independent State, should be pressed to join.

The constitution of such a league of nations implies the immediate establishment of an international high court, not only for the settlement of all disputes between States that are of justiciable nature, but also for prompt and effective mediation between States in other issues that vitally interest the power or honor of such States. It is also under the control of the League of Nations that the consultation of peoples for purposes of self-determination must be organized. This popular right can be vindicated only by popular vote. The League of Nations shall establish the procedure of international jurisdiction, fix the methods which will maintain the freedom and security of the election, restore the political rights of individuals which violence and conquest may have injured, repress any attempt to use pres-

sure or corruption, and prevent any subsequent reprisals. It will be also necessary to form an International Legislature, in which the representatives of every civilized State would have their allotted share, and energetically to push forward, step by step, the development of international legislation agreed to by, and definitely binding upon, the several States.

By a solemn agreement all the States and peoples consulted shall pledge themselves to submit every issue between two or more of them for settlement as aforesaid. Refusal to accept arbitration or to submit to the settlement will imply deliberate aggression, and all the nations will necessarily have to make common cause, by using any and every means at their disposal, either economical or military, against any State or States refusing to submit to the arbitration award or attempting to break the world's covenant of peace.

But the sincere acceptance of the rules and decisions of the supernational authority implies the complete democratization in all countries; the removal of all the arbitrary powers who, until now, have assumed the right of choosing between peace and war; the maintenance or creation of Legislatures elected by and on behalf of the sovereign right of the people; the suppression of secret diplomacy, to be replaced by the conduct of foreign policy under the control of popular Legislatures, and the publication of all treaties, which must never be in contravention of the stipulation of the League of Nations, with the absolute responsibility of the Government, and more particularly of the Foreign Minister of each country to its Legislature.

Only such a policy will enforce the frank abandonment of every form of im-

perialism. When based on universal democracy, in a world in which effective international guarantees against aggression have been secured, the League of Nations will achieve the complete suppression of force as the means of settling international differences.

The League of Nations, in order to prepare for the concerted abolition of compulsory military service in all countries, must first take steps for the prohibition of fresh armaments on land and sea, and for the common limitation of the existing armaments by which all the peoples are burdened, as well as the control of war manufactures and the enforcement of such agreements as may be agreed to thereupon. The States must undertake such manufactures themselves, so as entirely to abolish profit-making armament firms, whose pecuniary interest lies always in the war scares and progressive competition in the preparation for war.

The nations, being armed solely for self-defense and for such action as the League of Nations may ask them to take in defense of international right, will be left free, under international control, either to create a voluntarily recruited force or to organize the nation for de-

fense without professional armies for long terms of military service.

To give effect to the above principles, the Interallied Conference declares that the rules upon which the League of Nations will be founded must be included in the treaty of peace, and will henceforward become the basis of the settlement of differences. In that spirit the conference expresses its agreement with the propositions put forward by President Wilson in his last message:

1. That each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.

2. That peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game now forever discredited of the balance of power; but that

3. Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims among rival States.

4. That all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe, and consequently of the world.

III.—Territorial Questions

The Interallied Conference considers that the proclamation of principles of international law accepted by all nations, and the substitution of a regular procedure for the forceful acts by which States calling themselves sovereign have hitherto adjusted their differences—in short, the establishment of a League of Nations—gives an entirely new aspect to territorial problems.

The old diplomacy and the yearnings after domination by States, or even by peoples, which during the whole of the nineteenth century have taken advantage of and corrupted the aspirations of nationalities, have brought Europe to a condition of anarchy and disorder which have led inevitably to the present catastrophe.

The conference declares it to be the duty of the Labor and Socialist move-

ment to suppress without hesitation the imperialist designs in the various States which have led one Government after another to seek, by the triumph of military force, to acquire either new territories or economic advantage.

The establishment of a system of international law, and the guarantees afforded by a League of Nations, ought to remove the last excuse for those strategic protections which nations have hitherto felt bound to require.

It is the supreme principle of the right of each people to determine its own destiny that must now decide what steps should be taken by way of restitution or reparation and whatever territorial readjustments may be found to be necessary at the close of the present war.

The conference accordingly emphasizes the importance to the Labor and Socialist

movement of a clear and exact definition of what is meant by the right of each people to determine its own destiny. Neither destiny of race nor identity of language can be regarded as affording more than a presumption in favor of federation or unification. During the nineteenth century theories of this kind have so often served as a cloak for aggression that the International cannot but seek to prevent any recurrence of such an evil. Any adjustments of boundaries that become necessary must be based exclusively upon the desire of the people concerned.

It is true that it is impossible for the necessary consultation of the desires of the people concerned to be made in any fixed and invariable way for all the cases in which it is required, and that the problems of nationality and territory are not the same for the inhabitants of all countries. Nevertheless, what is necessary in all cases is that the procedure to be adopted should be decided, not by one of the parties to the dispute, but by the supernational authority.

Upon the basis of the general principles herein formulated the conference proposes the following solutions of particular problems:

(a) Belgium

The conference emphatically insists that a foremost condition of peace must be the reparation by the German Government, under the direction of an international commission, of the wrong admittedly done to Belgium; payment by that Government for all the damage that has resulted from this wrong, and the restoration of Belgium as an independent sovereign State, leaving to the decision of the Belgian people the determination of their own future policy in all respects.

(b) Alsace and Lorraine

The conference declares that the problem of Alsace and Lorraine is not one of territorial adjustment, but one of right, and thus an international problem the solution of which is indispensable if peace is to be either just or lasting.

The Treaty of Frankfort at one and the same time mutilated France and violated the right of the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine to dispose of their own destinies, a right which they have repeatedly claimed.

The new treaty of peace, in recognizing that Germany, by her declaration of war

of 1914, has herself broken the Treaty of Frankfort, will make null and void the gains of a brutal conquest and of the violence committed against the people.

France, having secured this recognition, can properly agree to a fresh consultation of the population of Alsace and Lorraine as to its own desires.

The treaty of peace will bear the signatures of every nation in the world. It will be guaranteed by the League of Nations. To this League of Nations France is prepared to remit, with the freedom and sincerity of a popular vote, of which the details can be subsequently settled, the organization of such a consultation as shall settle forever, as a matter of right, the future destiny of Alsace and Lorraine, and as shall finally remove from the common life of all Europe a quarrel which has imposed so heavy a burden upon it.

(c) The Balkans

The conference lays down the principle that all the violations and perversions of the rights of the people which have taken place, or are still taking place, in the Balkans must be made the subject of redress or reparation.

Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania, Albania, and all the territories occupied by military force should be evacuated by the hostile forces. Wherever any population of the same race and tongue demands to be united this must be done. Each such people must be accorded full liberty to settle its own destiny, without regard to the imperialist pretensions of Austria-Hungary, Turkey, or other State.

Accepting this principle, the conference proposes that the whole problem of the administrative reorganization of the Balkan peoples should be dealt with by a special conference of their representatives or in case of disagreement by an authoritative international commission on the basis of (a) the concession within each independent sovereignty of local autonomy and security for the development of its particular civilization of every racial minority; (b) the universal guarantee of freedom of religion and political equality for all races; (c) a Customs and Postal Union embracing the whole of the Balkan States, with free access for each to its natural seaport; (d) the entry of all the Balkan States into a federation for the concerted arrangement by mutual agreement among themselves of all matters of common interest.

(d) Italy

The conference declares its warmest sympathy with the people of Italian blood and speech who have been left outside the boundaries that have, as a result of the diplomatic agreements of the past, and for strategic reasons, been assigned

to the Kingdom of Italy, and supports their claim to be united with those of their own race and tongue. It realizes that arrangements may be necessary for securing the legitimate interests of the people of Italy in the adjacent seas, but it condemns the aims of conquest of Italian imperialism and believes that all legitimate needs can be safeguarded without precluding a like recognition of the needs of others or annexation of other people's territories.

Regarding the Italian population dispersed on the eastern shores of the Adriatic, the relations between Italy and the Yugo-Slav populations must be based on principles of equity and conciliation, so as to prevent any cause of future quarrel.

If there are found to be groups of Slavonian race within the newly defined Kingdom of Italy, or groups of Italian race in Slavonian territory, mutual guarantees must be given for the assurance to all of them, on one side or the other, of full liberty of local self-government and of the natural development of their several activities.

(e) Poland and the Baltic Provinces

In accordance with the right of every people to determine its own destinies, Poland must be reconstituted in unity and independence with free access to the sea.

The conference declares further that any annexation by Germany, whether open or disguised, of Livonia, Courland, or Lithuania, would be a flagrant and wholly inadmissible violation of international law.

(f) The Jews and Palestine

The conference demands for the Jews in all countries the same elementary rights of freedom of religion, education, residence, and trade and equal citizenship that ought to be extended to all the inhabitants of every nation. It further expresses the opinion that Palestine should be set free from the harsh and oppressive government of the Turk, in order that this country may form a free State, under international guarantee, to which such of the Jewish people as desire to do so may return and may work out their own salvation free from interference by those of alien race or religion.

(g) The Problem of the Turkish Empire

The conference condemns the handing back to the systematically cruel domination of the Turkish Government any subject people. Thus, whatever may be proposed with regard to Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, they cannot be restored to the tyranny of the Sultan and his Pashas. The conference condemns the imperialist aims of Governments and

capitalists who would make of these and other territories now dominated by the Turkish hordes merely instruments either of exploitation or militarism. If the peoples of these territories do not feel themselves able to settle their own destinies, the conference insists that, conformably with the policy of "no annexations," they should be placed for administration in the hands of a commission acting under the Supernational Authority or League of Nations. It is further suggested that the peace of the world requires that the Dardanelles should be permanently and effectively neutralized and opened like all the main lines of marine communication, under the control of the League of Nations, freely to all nations, without hindrance or customs duties.

(h) Austria-Hungary

The conference does not propose as a war aim dismemberment of Austria-Hungary or its deprivation of economic access to the sea. On the other hand, the conference cannot admit that the claims to independence made by the Czecho-Slovaks and the Yugo-Slavs must be regarded merely as questions for internal decision. National independence ought to be accorded, according to rules to be laid down by the League of Nations, to such peoples as demand it, and these communities ought to have the opportunity of determining their own groupings and federations according to their affinities and interests. If they think fit they are free to substitute a free federation of Danubian States for the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

(i) The Colonies and Dependencies

The International has always condemned the colonial policy of capitalist Governments. Without ceasing to condemn it, the Interallied Conference nevertheless recognizes the existence of a state of things which it is obliged to take into account.

The conference considers that the treaty of peace ought to secure to the natives in all colonies and dependencies effective protection against the excesses of capitalist colonialism. The conference demands the concession of administrative autonomy for all groups of people that attain a certain degree of civilization, and for all the others a progressive participation in local Government.

The conference is of opinion that the return of the colonies to those who possessed them before the war, or the exchanges or compensations which might be effected, ought not to be an obstacle to the making of peace.

Those colonies that have been taken by conquest from any belligerent must be made the subject of special consideration at the Peace Conference, as to which the

communities in their neighborhood will be entitled to take part. But the clause in the treaty of peace on this point must secure economic equality in such territories for the peoples of all nations, and thereby guarantee that none are shut out from legitimate access to raw materials, prevented from disposing of their own products, or deprived of their proper share of economic development.

As regards more especially the colonies of all the belligerents in tropical Africa, from sea to sea, including the whole of the region north of the Zambesi and south of the Sahara, the conference condemns any imperialist idea which would make these countries the booty of one or several nations, exploit them for the profit of the capitalist, or use them for the promotion of the militarist aims of the Governments.

With respect to these colonies, the conference declares in favor of a system of control, established by international agreement under the League of Nations and maintained by its guarantee, which, while respecting national sovereignty, would be alike inspired by broad conceptions of economic freedom and concerned to safeguard the rights of the natives under the best conditions possible for them, and in particular:

1. It would take account in each locality of the wishes of the people, expressed in the form which is possible to them.

2. The interests of the native tribes as regards the ownership of the soil would be maintained.

3. The whole of the revenues would be devoted to the well-being and development of the colonies themselves.

IV.—Economic Relations

The Interallied Conference declares against all the projects now being prepared by imperialists and capitalists, not in any one country only, but in most countries, for an economic war after peace has been secured either against one or other foreign nation or against all foreign nations, as such an economic war, if begun by any country, would inevitably lead to reprisals, to which each nation in turn might in self-defense be driven. The main lines of marine communication should be open without hindrance to vessels of all nations under the protection of the League of Nations. The conference realizes that all attempts at economic aggression, whether by protective tariffs or capitalist trusts or monopolies, inevitably result in the spoliation of the working classes of the several countries for the profit of the capitalists; and the working class sees in the alliance between the military imperialists and the fiscal protectionists in any country whatsoever not only a serious danger to the prosperity of the masses of the people, but also a grave menace to peace. On the other hand, the right of each nation to the defense of its own

economic interests, and, in face of the world shortage hereinafter mentioned, to the conservation for its own people of a sufficiency of its own supplies of food-stuffs and raw materials, cannot be denied. The conference accordingly urges upon the Labor and Socialist Parties of all countries the importance of insisting, in the attitude of the Government toward commercial enterprise, along with the necessary control of supplies for its own people, on the principle of the open door, and without hostile discrimination, against foreign countries. But it urges equally the importance, not merely of conservation, but also of the utmost possible development, by appropriate Government action, of the resources of every country for the benefit not only of its own people, but also of the world, and the need for an international agreement for the enforcement in all countries of the legislation on factory conditions, a maximum eight-hour day, the prevention of "sweating" and unhealthy trades necessary to protect the workers against exploitation and oppression, and the prohibition of night work by women and children.

V.—The Problems of Peace

To make the world safe for democracy involves much more than the prevention of war, either military or economic. It

will be a device of the capitalist interests to pretend that the treaty of peace need concern itself only with the cessa-

tion of the struggles of the armed forces and with any necessary territorial readjustments.

The Interallied Conference insists that, in view of the probable worldwide shortage, after the war, of exportable foodstuffs and raw materials, and of merchant shipping, it is imperative, in order to prevent the most serious hardships, and even possible famine, in one country or another, that systematic arrangements should be made on an international basis for the allocation and conveyance of the available exportable surpluses of these commodities to the different countries, in proportion, not to their purchasing powers, but to their several pressing needs; and that, within each country, the Government must for some time maintain its control of the most indispensable commodities, in order to secure their appropriation, not in a competitive market mainly to the richer classes in proportion to their means, but, systematically, to meet the most urgent needs of the whole community on the principle of "no cake for any one until all have bread."

Moreover, it cannot but be anticipated that, in all countries, the dislocation of industry attendant on peace, the instant discharge of millions of munition makers and workers in war trades, and the demobilization of millions of soldiers—in face of the scarcity of industrial capital, the shortage of raw materials, and the insecurity of commercial enterprise—will, unless prompt and energetic action be taken by the several Governments, plunge a large part of the wage-earning population into all the miseries of un-

employment more or less prolonged. In view of the fact that widespread unemployment in any country, like a famine, is an injury not to that country alone, but impoverishes also the rest of the world, the conference holds that it is the duty of every Government to take immediate action, not merely to relieve the unemployed, when unemployment has set in, but actually, so far as may be practicable, to prevent the occurrence of unemployment. It therefore urges upon the Labor Parties of every country the necessity of their pressing upon their Governments the preparation of plans for the execution of all the innumerable public works (such as the making and repairing of roads, railways, and waterways, the erection of schools and public buildings, the provision of working-class dwellings, and the reclamation and afforestation of land) that will be required in the near future, not for the sake of finding measures of relief for the unemployed, but with a view to these works being undertaken at such a rate in each locality as will suffice, together with the various capitalist enterprises that may be in progress, to maintain at a fairly uniform level year by year, and throughout each year, the aggregate demand for labor, and thus prevent there being any unemployed.

It is now known that in this way it is quite possible for any Government to prevent, if it chooses, the occurrence of any widespread or prolonged involuntary unemployment; which, if it is now in any country allowed to occur, is as much the result of Government neglect as is any epidemic disease.

VI.—Restoration of the Devastated Areas and Reparations of Wrongdoing

The Interallied Conference holds that one of the most imperative duties of all countries immediately peace is declared will be the restoration, so far as may be possible, of the homes, farms, factories, public buildings, and means of communication wherever destroyed by war operations; that the restoration should not be limited to compensation for public build-

ings, capitalist undertakings, and material property proved to be destroyed or damaged, but should be extended to setting up the wage earners and peasants themselves in homes and employment; and that to insure the full and impartial application of these principles the assessment and distribution of the compensation, so far as the cost is contributed by

any international fund, should be made under the direction of an international commission.

The conference will not be satisfied unless there is a full and free judicial investigation into the accusations made on all sides that particular Governments have ordered and particular officers have exercised acts of cruelty, oppression, violence, and theft against individual victims, for which no justification can be found in the ordinary usages of war. It draws attention, in particular, to the loss of life and property of merchant seamen and other noncombatants (including women and children) resulting from this inhuman and ruthless conduct. It should

be part of the conditions of peace that there should be forthwith set up a court of claims and accusations, which should investigate all such allegations as may be brought before it, summon the accused person or Government to answer the complaint, to pronounce judgment, and award compensation or damages, payable by the individual or Government condemned, to the persons who had suffered wrong, or to their dependents. The several Governments must be responsible, financially and otherwise, for the presentation of the cases of their respective nationals to such a court of claims and accusations, and for the payment of the compensation awarded.

VII.—International Conference

The Interallied Conference is of opinion that an international conference of Labor and Socialist organizations, held under proper conditions, would, at this stage, render useful service to world democracy by assisting to remove misunderstandings, as well as the obstacles which stand in the way of world peace.

Awaiting the resumption of the normal activities of the International Socialist Bureau, we consider that an international conference, held during the period of hostilities, should be organized by a committee whose impartiality cannot be questioned. It should be held in a neutral country, under such conditions as would inspire confidence; and the conference should be fully representative of all the Labor and Socialist movement in all the belligerent countries accepting the conditions under which the conference is convoked.

As an essential condition to an international conference, the commission is of the opinion that the organizers of the conference should satisfy themselves that all the organizations to be represented put in precise form, by a public declaration, their peace terms in conformity with the principles "No annexations or punitive indemnities, and the right of all peoples to self-determination," and that they are working with all their power to obtain from their Governments the necessary guarantees to apply these

principles honestly and unreservedly to all questions to be dealt with at any official peace conference.

In view of the vital differences between the allied countries and the Central Powers, the commission is of opinion that it is highly advisable that the conference should be used to provide an opportunity for the delegates from the respective countries now in a state of war to make a full and frank statement of their present position and future intentions, and to endeavor by mutual agreement to arrange a program of action for a speedy and democratic peace.

The conference is of opinion that the working classes, having made such sacrifices during the war, are entitled to take part in securing a democratic world peace, and that M. Albert Thomas, (France,) M. Emile Vandervelde, (Belgium,) and Arthur Henderson, (Great Britain,) be appointed as a commission to secure from the Governments a promise that at least one representative of labor and socialism will be included in the official representation at any Government conference, and to organize a Labor and Socialist representation to sit concurrently with the official conference; further, that no country be entitled to more than four representatives at such conference.

The conference regrets the absence of representatives of American labor and

socialism from the Interallied Conference, and urges the importance of securing their approval of the decisions reached. With this object in view, the conference agrees that a deputation, consisting of one representative from France, Belgium, Italy, and Great Britain, together with Camille Huysmans, (Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau,) proceed to the United States at once, in order to confer with representatives of the American democracy on the whole situation of the war.

The conference resolves to transmit to the Socialists of the Central Empires and

of the nations allied with them the memorandum in which the conference has defined the conditions of peace, conformably with the principles of Socialist and international justice. The conference is convinced that these conditions will commend themselves on reflection to the mind of every Socialist, and the conference asks for the answer of the Socialists of the Central Empires, in the hope that these will join without delay in a joint effort of the International, which has now become more than ever the best and the most certain instrument of democracy and peace.

American Labor Federation's Views

Address by Samuel Gompers

THE American Federation of Labor expressed its views on the war in an address by its President, Samuel Gompers, delivered in New York on Feb. 22, 1918, at a loyalty meeting held in celebration of Washington's Birthday. The meeting was held under the auspices of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy. Mr. Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, spoke from the same platform.

The President of the American Federation of Labor began his appeal to patriotism by saying that he, who was once an ultra-pacifist, was now a red-blooded fighting man, and that American workers were fighting men. Referring to the message he had sent to Arthur Henderson, Secretary of the British Labor Party, saying that American workers would send no delegates to the labor peace conference in London, Mr. Gompers said he wished to send word to all the world on Washington's Birthday as to the stand of America's workers. He reviewed the recent history of Russia and pictured that country's plight. He continued:

The radicals of the Bolsheviki have not given the people land, nor bread, nor peace; and instead of finding the great people of Russia standing erect and fighting for their homes and for their lives, we find them licking the boots of the Kaiser and praying for mercy.

Yes, this radical gang has done that,

and to it must be laid the charge of the undoing of Russia.

And they are showing their heads here. If the so-called radicals of America could have their way, you would find the people of the United States in the same position as the people of Russia are now.

And then they invite us to peace conferences with representatives of the workers of enemy countries. Why, men and women, the Kaiser wouldn't give a passport to German delegates who would not be bound to do his bidding. He would let no one go to those conferences who was not his minion.

I say to the Kaiser, I say to the Germans, in the name of the American labor movement: "You can't talk peace with American workers; you can't talk peace with us; you can't talk to us at all now. We are fighting now. Either you smash your Kaiser autocracy or we will smash it for you."

Yes, we say to the Germans: "Get you out of France, out of Serbia, out of Belgium, and back into Germany, and then perhaps we'll talk peace terms with you. But we won't before you do that."

Here the audience arose as one and cheered Mr. Gompers. Then he paid his respects to those radicals in America who criticise the country and wouldn't fight for it. He said they were serving "the great autocrat of all time, the modern buccaneer of the world, an intellectual, scientific murderer."

"America is not perfect," Mr. Gompers said. "The Republic of the United States is not perfect; it has the imper-

fections of the human—but it is the best country on the face of the earth, and those who do not love it enough to work for it, to fight for it, to die for it, are not worthy of the privilege of living in it.”

Mr. Gompers said that when the Congress of the United States declared war it handed down a decision from which there could be no appeal, and that no American today had the right to discuss whether or not we should be fighting Germany.

He again paid his respects to the Bolsheviki in America, and said that they had the same theories as the Russians who before any battle was undertaken would vote on whether or not to fight.

“In theory that might be fairly good,” he said. “As an academic proposition it sounds good, but when you have opposite you a well-organized gang of scientific murderers who have their guns leveled at you, that is not the time to vote on whether or not you will defend yourself—that is a time to fight.”

Mr. Gompers said that labor had gained in this war recognition by the Government of the principles for which it had so long fought, and pointed to the participation by labor leaders in the conferences of war at Washington. “When the war is over,” he said, “do you think those representatives of labor are to be thrown aside? Not on your

life!” Mr. Gompers went on to say that because labor had so much at stake it should remain steadfastly behind the Government until the end.

Resolutions adopted repeated the pledge of loyalty of American workers, and said:

Resolved, That we commend the determination of the American labor movement to have no contact or dealings with enemy nations so long as those nations remain autocratic, and that we send again to the people of those nations the word that the American working people can discuss no international or other questions with them so long as they consent to autocratic domination and fight the battles of autocracy; and be it further

Resolved, That we are one with the whole people of America in our resolve to exert every effort for a triumphant military effort on the battlefields of Europe to bring about the final overthrow of autocracy, meanwhile guarding jealously our democratic institutions at home as the foundations of a wider and fuller democracy to come; and be it further

Resolved, That we here again express our appreciation of the farsighted wisdom and singleness of purpose of President Wilson as manifested in his first statement of the aims of our nation in this war, which statement has furnished a rallying point for the advancing democratic thought of the world, and be it further

Resolved, That we forward this declaration of fidelity and loyalty to the President of the United States as our renewed pledge of fealty and true understanding at this most fitting time, the anniversary of the birth of our first Great Liberator.



[OFFICIAL]

The Battle of Cambrai

Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig Tells Why Victory Was Lost

IN the March issue of *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* was printed the official report of Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig on the British operations of 1917 in France up to the battle of Cambrai. His report on the latter engagement appeared a few weeks later. The battle of Cambrai began with a notable British victory on Nov. 20, 1917, and ended in a British reverse. It became the subject of much controversy and brought a Parliamentary inquiry. The report of the commission left the impression that the British had not been taken by surprise, but the chief commander's official report indicates otherwise.

Discussing the reasons for the decision to attack on the Cambrai front, Field Marshal Haig says that the repeated assaults in Flanders had caused a weakening of the enemy's line elsewhere, and that of these weakened sectors that of Cambrai was deemed the most suitable for the surprise operation contemplated, the ground being favorable for the employment of tanks, the plan being to disperse with previous artillery preparation, which would have prevented secrecy, and depend instead on the tanks to smash their way through the enemy's wire.

The enemy [writes the Field Marshal] was laying out fresh lines of defense behind those which he had already completed on the Cambrai front, and it was to be expected his troops would be redistributed as soon as our pressure in Flanders relaxed. He had already brought large forces from Russia in exchange for divisions exhausted in the struggle in the western theatre, and it was practically certain that heavy reinforcements would be brought from the east to the west during the Winter.

Against the arguments in favor of immediate action I had to weigh the fact that my own troops had been engaged many months in heavy fighting. The conditions of the struggle had greatly taxed their strength. Only a part of the losses of my divisions had been replaced, and many of the recently arrived draft were

still far from being fully trained and included in the ranks of the armies.

Eventually the British commander decided in favor of immediate action. He continues:

The infantry, the tanks, and the artillery, working in combination, were to endeavor to break through all the enemy's lines of defense on the first day. If this were successfully accomplished and the situation developed favorably, cavalry were then to be passed through to raid the enemy's communications, disorganize his system of command, damage his railways, and interfere as much as possible with the arrival of reinforcements.

The attack, the Field Marshal notes, was started at 6:30 o'clock on the morning of Nov. 20. The spectacular successes which first attended it have been told in the correspondents' reports written at the time. It was on the last day of November that the triumph began to give way to disaster.

At the northern end of the Bonavis Ridge and in the Gonnellieu sector the swiftness with which the advance of the enemy's infantry followed the opening of his bombardment appears to have overwhelmed our troops, both in the line and the immediate support, almost before they had realized the attack had begun. The nature of the bombardment, which seems to have been heavy enough to keep our men under cover without at first seriously alarming them, contributed to the success of the enemy's plans.

No steadily advancing barrage gave warning of the approach of the German assault columns, whose secret assembly was assisted by the many deep folds and hollows typical of the chalk formation, and was shielded from observation from the air by the early morning mist. It was only when the attack was upon them that great numbers of low-flying German airplanes rained machine-gun fire upon our infantry, while the extensive use of smoke shells and bombs made it extremely difficult for our troops to see what was happening on other parts of the battlefield or to follow the movements of the enemy.

In short, there is little doubt that, although an attack was expected generally, yet in these areas of the battle, at the

moment of its delivery, the assault effected a local surprise.

The strength the enemy had shown himself able to develop in his attacks made it evident that only by prolonged and severe fighting could I hope to re-establish my right flank on Bonavis Ridge. Unless this was done the situation of my troops in the salient north of Flesquières would be difficult and dangerous, even if our hold on Bourlon Hill were extended. I had therefore to decide either to embark on another offensive battle on a large scale or to withdraw to a more compact line on Flesquières Ridge.

Although the decision involved the giving up of important positions most gallantly won, I had no doubt as to the correct course under the conditions.

Field Marshal Haig notes that the withdrawal was completed successfully without interference from the enemy on the morning of Dec. 7. Summarizing the results of the three weeks' fighting, he says:

There is little doubt that our operations were of considerable indirect assistance to the allied forces in Italy. Large demands were made upon the available German reserves at a time when a great concentration of German divisions was still being maintained in Flanders. There

is evidence that German divisions intended for the Italian theatre were diverted to the Cambrai front, and it is probable that a further concentration of German forces against Italy was suspended for at least two weeks at a most critical period, when our allies were making their first stand on the Piave line.

Had Field Marshal Haig not met with a check which compelled him to abandon part of the captured territory, what he might have accomplished he thus discloses:

My intentions as regards subsequent exploitation were to push westward and northwestward, taking the Hindenburg line in the reverse from Moeuvres to the River Scarpe and capturing all the enemy's defenses and probably most of his garrisons lying west of a line from Cambrai northward to the Sensee and south of that river and the Scarpe.

Time would have been required to enable us to develop and complete the operation, but the prospects of gaining the necessary time were, in my opinion, good enough to justify the attempt to execute the plan. I am of the opinion that on the 20th and 21st of November we went very near to success sufficiently complete to bring the realization of our full program within our power.

[OFFICIAL]

The Battle of Bourlon Wood

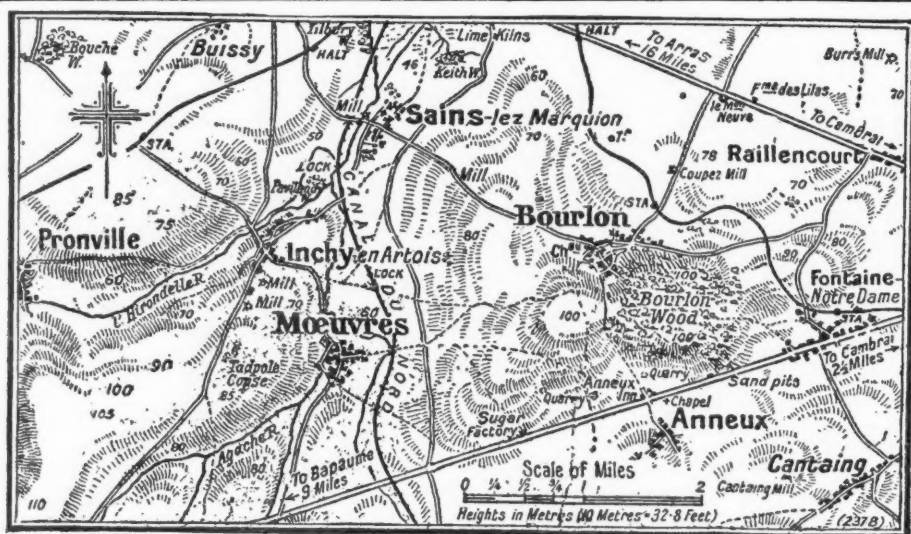
A Chapter of Thrilling Heroism

In connection with the official report of the battle of Cambrai the British military authorities made public late in February the story of a brilliant and heroic struggle at Bourlon Wood, Nov. 30, 1917, in which the 47th, 2d, and 56th Divisions of English troops were engaged. It is a narrative of fighting unsurpassed in individual feats of valor in any engagements of the war, and merits a place in history. The official account follows:

THE position on the morning of Nov. 30 was as follows: The 47th (London) Territorial Division, the 2d Division, and the right brigade of the 56th (London) Territorial Division were holding a front of about five miles, extending from the eastern edge of Bourlon Wood to Tadpole Copse in the Hindenburg line, west of Moeuvres. From Tadpole Copse the left brigade of the 56th Division formed a defensive flank across No Man's Land to our old front line. The day brought most determined

attacks by four German divisions, with three other divisions in support. All these attacks were utterly crushed by the three British divisions, the enemy sustaining enormous losses.

After considerable shelling during the night on Bourlon Wood the enemy's artillery barrage opened at about 8:45 A. M., being directed on our front line of posts and also with great intensity on the line of the Bapaume-Cambrai road, severing all connection with the two right battalions of the 2d Division.



SCENE OF THE BATTLE OF BOURLON WOOD

Soon after 9 A. M. large numbers of the enemy were seen coming over the ridge west of Bourlon Wood, against the junction of the 2d and 47th Divisions. Our artillery barrage, which at that time was intense, caught this advance; but, in spite of their losses, the German infantry pressed on. The left of the London Territorials was being forced back. Four posts on the right of the 2d Division were wiped out. The situation was critical.

As the enemy's infantry appeared over the crest of the hill, however, they were engaged with direct fire by our field artillery. Machine guns in position in a sunken road southwest of Bourlon Wood and in the sugar factory on the Bapaume-Cambrai road swept their advancing lines. The survivors of the 2d Division's posts succeeded in getting to shell holes further back and held on. While the artillery of both British divisions maintained a constant and accurate fire, rifle, Lewis-gun, and machine-gun fire inflicted enormous losses on the enemy, held up his advance, and eventually drove him back after three hours' hard fighting.

A REARGUARD'S SACRIFICE

Further west the enemy's advance broke upon the 17th Battalion, Royal Fusiliers, 2d Division, which was in the act of withdrawing from an advanced

sap and trench, judged too exposed to be maintained in the face of so powerful an attack.

Owing to the enemy being concealed in some dead ground, the attack developed with unexpected speed and the company holding the advanced position was ordered to leave a rearguard to cover the withdrawal of the remainder. Captain W. N. Stone, who was in command of the company, sent back three platoons, and himself elected to remain with the rearguard, together with Lieutenant Benzecry.

This rearguard, assisted by our machine guns, held off the whole of the German attack until the main position of the 17th Battalion, Royal Fusiliers, was fully organized, and they died to a man with their faces to the enemy.

It is impossible to make comparisons in an action such as was fought on this day, in which so many glorious deeds were performed, but the report of the officer commanding the 17th Battalion, Royal Fusiliers, concerning this incident adds distinction to the history of the regiment, and will be remembered as a devoted example of the greatest of all sacrifices. It runs:

"Of the heroism of the rearguard it is difficult to speak. Captain Stone and Lieutenant Benzecry, although ordered to withdraw to the main line, elected to remain with the rearguard. The

"rearguard was seen fighting with bayonet, bullet, and bomb to the last. There was no survivor. Captain Stone by his invaluable information as to the movements of the enemy prior to the attack, and his subsequent sacrifice with the rearguard, saved the situation at cost of his life. Lieutenant Benzecry was seen to be wounded in the head. He continued to fight until he was killed."

STRAIGHT SHOOTING

The 1st Battalion, King's Royal Rifle Corps, on the left of the 17th Battalion, Royal Fusiliers, were in action throughout this period, and masses of the enemy moved against them; but by their well-directed and intense volume of fire, delivered from rifles, Lewis guns, and machine guns, the enemy were literally mown down in heaps after topping the rise some 200 or 300 yards from our front line. Throughout the day formed bodies of Germans never got nearer than this to our position; though many individuals endeavored to creep forward until disposed of by our snipers and Lewis-gun detachments.

After midday the enemy again attacked on the whole front of the right brigade of the 2d Division, but was once more hurled back with great slaughter, offering very favorable targets at from 50 to 200 yards' range to machine guns, Lewis guns, and rifles.

Early in the afternoon large masses of the enemy attacked on a front of nearly a mile west of Bourlon Wood. On the left of the front, attacked he was once more driven off with heavy loss by the accuracy and volume of our fire; but three posts on the extreme right of the 2d Division were captured. The garrisons of the three posts on the front of the 2d Division fell fighting to the last, and, when the line at this point was restored, such a heap of German dead lay in and around the posts that it was impossible to find the bodies of our men.

In this locality five other posts held by a company of the 1st Battalion, Royal Berkshire Regiment, repulsed all the enemy's attacks and maintained themselves until our reinforcements had re-

stored the situation. This company showed the utmost valor and steadfastness in a most critical period, extending over some six hours. The enemy made attack after attack, always in vastly superior numbers, and time after time came right up to our posts, only to be mown down by our fire and driven back in disorder. The casualties of this company were forty-six of all ranks. They claim to have killed over 500 of the enemy.

AT POINTBLANK RANGE

The story of the gallant fight against odds put up by the garrisons of these posts, both those who survived and those who died valiantly, constitutes one out of the many examples furnished by the fighting of this day of the supreme importance of the resistance that can be offered by small parties of determined men who know how to use their weapons and are resolved to use them to the last.

As the result of their efforts on this occasion, the 17th Battalion, Royal Fusiliers, reported at 1 P. M. that their line was intact, that they were in close touch with the units on either flank, and that the men were really enjoying the novel experience of killing Germans in large numbers at pointblank range.

During the afternoon a strong hostile attack was made upon the 141st Brigade on the right of the 47th Division. For some days the German artillery had been steadily pouring gas shell into Bourlon Wood, until the thick undergrowth was full of gas. Many casualties were caused to our troops; and gas masks had to be worn continuously for many hours. None the less, when the enemy attacked he was again hurled back with heavy loss. A distinctive feature of the defense was the gallantry of the Lewis gunners, who, when the attack was seen to be beginning, ran out with their guns in front of our line and, from positions of advantage in the open, mowed down the advancing German infantry.

Later in the afternoon the enemy made two other attacks against the right brigade of the 2d Division. In each case he was beaten off with great slaughter, his losses being materially increased by

the fire of an 18-pounder battery which got right on to his infantry in crowded trenches.

ATTACK AT MOEUVRES

Similar events were happening meanwhile on the left of the 2d Division and on the right of the 56th Division. At 9:20 A. M. the enemy had been seen advancing from the north toward the Canal du Nord, and subsequently attack after attack was delivered by him on both sides of the canal against the 6th and 169th Infantry Brigades.

South of Moeuvres the enemy succeeded in effecting an entry, but was driven back by a bombing attack after heavy fighting. In the fighting in this area Captain A. M. C. McReady-Diarmid of the 17th Battalion, Middlesex Regiment, greatly distinguished himself. When the enemy had penetrated some distance into the position and the situation was extremely critical he led his company forward through a very heavy barrage, and engaged the enemy with such success that the Germans were driven back at least 500 yards with the loss of many casualties and a number of prisoners.

On the following day this officer again led a bombing attack against a party of Germans who had broken into our positions, and drove them back 300 yards, himself killing eighty of the enemy. Throughout this attack he led the way himself, and it was absolutely and entirely due to his marvelous throwing that the ground was regained. Captain McReady-Diarmid was eventually killed by a bomb when the Germans had been driven back to the place from which they had started.

At this time, from Moeuvres westward to Tadpole Copse, a desperate struggle was taking place for the possession of the Hindenburg line, in the course of which the enemy at one time reached the battalion headquarters of the 8th Battalion, Middlesex Regiment, attached to the 168th Brigade, 56th Division. Here the German infantry were stopped by the gallant defense of the officer commanding the battalion, who, with the assistance of his headquarters staff, held off the

enemy with bombs until further help was organized and the trench regained.

ANOTHER GALLANT EXPLOIT

Later in the evening another attack in force was made southeast of Moeuvres, and the enemy once more effected an entry. In doing so he isolated a company of the 13th Battalion, Essex Regiment, 2d Division, which was holding a trench along the west side of the Canal du Nord. * * * The successful defense was greatly assisted by the heroic resistance of the isolated company of the 13th Battalion, Essex Regiment. It would appear that at 4 P. M. this most gallant company, realizing the improbability of being extricated, held a council of war, at which the two surviving company officers, Lieutenant J. D. Robinson and Second Lieutenant E. L. Corps, the company Sergeant Major A. H. Edwards, and Platoon Sergeants C. Phillips, F. C. Parsons, W. Fairbrass, R. Lodge, and L. S. Legg were present. It was unanimously determined to fight to the last and have no surrender. Two runners, who succeeded in getting through, were sent back to notify battalion headquarters of this decision.

Throughout the night of Nov. 30 many efforts were made to effect the relief of these brave men, but all attempts failed against the overwhelming strength of the enemy. The last that is known of this gallant company is that it was heard fighting it out, and maintaining to the last a bulwark against the tide of attacking Germans. It is impossible to estimate the value of this magnificent fight to the death, which relieved the pressure on the main line of defense.

At the end of this day of high courage and glorious achievement, except for a few advanced positions, some of which were afterward regained, our line had been maintained intact. The men who had come triumphantly through this mighty contest felt, and rightly felt, that they had won a great victory, in which the enemy had come against them in his full strength, and had been defeated with losses at which even the victors stood aghast.

Heroic Deeds of British Soldiers

Official Records of Men Who Won the Victoria Cross by Conspicuous Bravery in Battle

THE much-coveted Victoria Cross, which is awarded by the British Government only in cases of exceptional daring and achievement, numbers among its records many thrilling deeds of heroism. It is the custom of the British War Office to publish lists of these awards, appending to each name a brief official account of the acts that won the "V. C." The following typical examples have been selected almost at random. These brief tales of heroism, when multiplied by hundreds of thousands, give some measure of what the British Army is doing at the front:

THE ROLL OF HONOR

MAJOR LEWIS PUGH EVANS, (Acting Lieutenant Colonel,) D. S. O., Royal Highlanders, commanding the Lincolnshire Regiment.

For most conspicuous bravery and leadership. Lieut. Col. Evans took his battalion in perfect order through a terrific enemy barrage, personally formed up all units, and led them to the assault. While a strong machine-gun emplacement was causing casualties, and the troops were working round the flank, Lieut. Col. Evans rushed at it himself, and by firing his revolver through the loophole forced the garrison to capitulate. After capturing the first objective he was severely wounded in the shoulder, but refused to be bandaged, and re-formed the troops, pointed out all future objectives, and again led his battalion forward. Again badly wounded, he nevertheless continued to command until the second objective was won, and, after consolidation, collapsed from loss of blood. As there were numerous casualties, he refused assistance, and by his own efforts ultimately reached the dressing station. His example of cool bravery stimulated in all ranks the highest valor and determination to win.

SERGEANT JOSEPH LISTER, Lancashire Fusiliers.

For most conspicuous bravery in attack, when advancing to the first objective, his company came under machine-gun fire from the direction of two "pillboxes." Seeing that the galling fire would hold

up our advance and prevent our troops keeping up with the barrage, Sergeant Lister dashed ahead of his men and found a machine gun firing from a shell hole in front of the "pillbox." He shot two of the enemy gunners, and the remainder surrendered to him. He then went on to the "pillbox, and shouted to the occupants to surrender. They did so with the exception of one man, whom Sergeant Lister shot dead; whereupon about 100 of the enemy emerged from shell holes further to the rear and surrendered. This noncommissioned officer's prompt act of courage enabled our line to advance with hardly a check and to keep up with the barrage, the loss of which might have jeopardized the whole course of the local battle.

CORPORAL ERNEST ALBERT EGERTON, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Regiment.

For most conspicuous bravery, initiative, and devotion to duty when, during attack, owing to fog and smoke, visibility was obscured, and in consequence thereof the two leading waves of the attack passed over certain hostile dugouts without clearing them. Enemy rifles, assisted by a machine gun, were from these dugouts inflicting severe casualties on the advancing waves. When volunteers were called for to assist in clearing up the situation Corporal Egerton at once jumped up and dashed for the dugouts under heavy fire at short range. He shot in succession a rifleman, a bomber, and a gunner, by which time he was supported, and twenty-nine of the enemy surrendered. The reckless bravery of this noncommissioned officer relieved in less than thirty seconds an extremely difficult situation. His gallantry is beyond all praise.

CORPORAL FILIP KONOWAL, Canadian Infantry.

For most conspicuous bravery and leadership when in charge of a section in attack. His section had the difficult task of mopping up cellars, craters, and machine-gun emplacements. Under his able direction all resistance was overcome successfully, and heavy casualties inflicted on the enemy. In one cellar he himself bayoneted three of the enemy and attacked single-handed seven others in a crater, killing them all. On reaching the objective, a machine gun was holding

up the right flank, causing many casualties. Corporal Konowal rushed forward and entered the emplacement, killed the crew, and brought the gun back to our lines. The next day he again attacked single-handed another machine-gun emplacement, killed three of the crew, and destroyed the gun and emplacement with explosives. This noncommissioned officer alone killed at least sixteen of the enemy, and during the two days' actual fighting carried on continuously his good work until severely wounded.

CORPORAL WALTER PEELER, Australian Imperial Force.

For most conspicuous bravery when with a Lewis gun accompanying the first wave of the assault he encountered an enemy party sniping the advancing troops from a shell hole. Lance Corporal Peeler immediately rushed the position and accounted for nine of the enemy, and cleared the way for the advance. On two subsequent occasions he performed similar acts of valor, and each time accounted for a number of the enemy. During operations he was directed to a position from which an enemy machine gun was being fired on our troops. He located and killed the gunner, and the remainder of the enemy party ran into a dugout close by. From this shelter they were dislodged by a bomb, and ten of the enemy ran out. These he disposed of. This noncommissioned officer actually accounted for over thirty of the enemy. He displayed an absolute fearlessness in making his way ahead of the first wave of the assault, and the fine example which he set insured the success of the attack against most determined opposition.

COURAGEOUS PRIVATES

PRIVATE FREDERICK GEORGE DANCOS, Worcestershire Regiment.

For most conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty in attack. After the first objective had been captured and consolidation had been started, work was considerably hampered, and numerous casualties were caused by an enemy machine gun firing from a concrete emplacement situated on the edge of our protective barrage. Private Dancos was one of a party of about ten men detailed as moppers-up. Owing to the position of the machine-gun emplacement, it was extremely difficult to work round a flank. However, this man with great gallantry worked his way round through the barrage and entered the "pillbox" from the rear, threatening the garrison with a Mills bomb. Shortly afterward he reappeared with a machine gun under his arm, followed by about forty enemy. The machine gun was brought back to our position by Private Dancos, and he kept

it in action throughout the day. By his resolution, absolute disregard of danger, and cheerful disposition, the morale of his comrades was maintained at a very high standard under extremely trying circumstances.

PRIVATE ARTHUR HUTT, Royal Warwickshire Regiment.

For most conspicuous bravery and initiative in attack, when all the officers and noncommissioned officers of No. 2 platoon having become casualties, Private Hutt took command of and led forward the platoon. He was held up by a strong post on his right, but immediately ran forward alone in front of the platoon and shot the officer and three men in the post, causing between forty and fifty others to surrender. Later, realizing that he had pushed too far, he withdrew his party. He personally covered the withdrawal by sniping the enemy, killing a number, and then carried back a badly wounded man and put him under shelter. Private Hutt then organized and consolidated his position, and learning that some wounded men were lying out and likely to become prisoners if left there, no stretcher bearers being available, he went out and carried in four wounded men under heavy fire.

PRIVATE CHARLES MELVIN, Royal Highlanders.

For most conspicuous bravery, coolness, and resource in action. Private Melvin's company had advanced to within fifty yards of the front-line trench of a redoubt, where, owing to the intensity of the enemy's fire, the men were obliged to lie down and wait for reinforcements. Private Melvin, however, rushed on by himself, over ground swept from end to end by rifle and machine-gun fire. On reaching the enemy trench, he halted and fired two or three shots into it, killing one or two enemy, but, as the others in the trench continued to fire at him, he jumped into it, and attacked them with his bayonet in his hand, as, owing to his rifle being damaged, it was not "fixed." On being attacked in this resolute manner most of the enemy fled to their second line, but not before Private Melvin had killed two more and succeeded in disarming eight unwounded and one wounded. Private Melvin bound up the wounds of the wounded man, and then, driving his eight unwounded prisoners before him and supporting the wounded one, he hustled them out of the trench, marched them in, and delivered them over to an officer. He then provided himself with a load of ammunition and returned to the firing line, where he reported himself to his platoon Sergeant. All this was done not only under intense rifle and machine-gun fire, but the whole way back Private

Melvin and his party were exposed to a very heavy artillery barrage fire. Throughout the day Private Melvin greatly inspired those near him with confidence and courage.

MAJOR JOHN SHERWOOD-KELLY, (Acting Lieutenant Colonel,) Machine Gun Corps, Norfolk Regiment, commanding a battalion of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers.

For most conspicuous bravery and fearless leading when a party of men of another unit detailed to cover the passage of the canal by his battalion were held up on the near side of the canal by heavy rifle fire directed on the bridge. Lieut. Col. Sherwood-Kelly at once ordered covering fire, personally led the leading company of his battalion across the canal, and, after crossing, reconnoitred under heavy rifle and machine-gun fire the high ground held by the enemy. The left flank of his battalion advancing to the assault of this objective was held up by a thick belt of wire, whereupon he crossed to that flank and, with a Lewis-gun team, forced his way under heavy fire through obstacles, got the gun into position on the far side, and covered the advance of his battalion through the wire, thereby enabling them to capture the position. Later, he personally led a charge against some pits from which a heavy fire was being directed on his men, captured the pits, together with five machine guns and forty-six prisoners, and killed a large number of the enemy. The great gallantry displayed by this officer throughout the day inspired the greatest confidence in his men, and it was mainly due to his example and devotion to duty that his battalion was enabled to capture and hold their objective.

LIEUTENANT ROBERT GEE, (temporary Captain,) M. C., Royal Fusiliers.

For most conspicuous bravery, initiative, and determination when an attack by a strong enemy force pierced our line and captured a brigade headquarters and ammunition dump. Captain Gee, finding himself a prisoner, killed one of the enemy with his spiked stick and succeeded in escaping. He then organized a party of the brigade staff, with which he attacked the enemy fiercely, closely followed and supported by two companies of infantry. By his own personal bravery and prompt action he, aided by his orderlies, cleared the locality. Captain Gee established a defensive flank on the outskirts of the village, then, finding that an enemy machine gun was still in action, with a revolver in each hand, and, followed by one man, he rushed and captured the gun, killing eight of the crew. At this time he was wounded, but re-

fused to have the wound dressed until he was satisfied that the defense was organized.

SECOND LIEUTENANT ARTHUR MOORE LASCELLES, (Acting Captain,) Durham Light Infantry.

For most devoted bravery, initiative, and devotion to duty when in command of his company in a very exposed position. After a very heavy bombardment during which Captain Lascelles was wounded, the enemy attacked in strong force, but was driven off, success being due in a great degree to the fine example set by this officer, who, refusing to allow his wound to be dressed, continued to encourage his men and organize the defense. Shortly afterward the enemy again attacked and captured the trench, taking several of his men prisoners. Captain Lascelles at once jumped on to the parapet, and, followed by the remainder of his company, twelve men only, rushed across under very heavy machine-gun fire and drove over sixty of the enemy back, thereby saving a most critical situation. He was untiring in reorganizing the position, but shortly afterward the enemy again attacked and captured the trench and Captain Lascelles, who escaped later. The remarkable determination and gallantry of this officer in the course of operations, during which he received two further wounds, afforded an inspiring example to all.

PRIVATE HENRY JAMES NICHOLAS, New Zealand Infantry.

For most conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty in attack. Private Nicholas, who was one of a Lewis-gun section, had orders to form a defensive flank to the right of the advance which was subsequently checked by heavy machine-gun and rifle fire from an enemy strong point. Whereupon, followed by the remainder of his section at an interval of about twenty-five yards, Private Nicholas rushed forward alone, shot the officer in command of the strong point, and overcame the remainder of the garrison of sixteen by means of bombs and bayonet, capturing four wounded prisoners and a machine gun. He captured this strong point practically single-handed, and thereby saved many casualties. Subsequently, when the advance had reached its limit, Private Nicholas collected ammunition under heavy machine-gun and rifle fire. His exceptional valor and coolness throughout the operations afforded an inspiring example to all.

PRIVATE JAMES PETER ROBERTSON, late Canadian Infantry.

For most conspicuous bravery and outstanding devotion to duty in attack. When his platoon was held up by uncut wire

and a machine-gun causing many casualties, Private Robertson dashed to an opening on the flank, rushed the machine gun, and, after a desperate struggle with the crew, killed four and then turned the gun on the remainder, who, overcome by the fierceness of his onslaught, were running toward their own lines. His gallant work enabled the platoon to advance. He inflicted many more casualties among the enemy, and then, carrying the captured machine gun, he led his platoon to the final objective. He there selected an excellent position and got the gun into action, firing on the retreating enemy, who by this time were quite demoralized by the fire brought to bear on them. During the consolidation Private Robertson's most determined use of the machine gun kept down the fire of the enemy snipers; his courage and his coolness cheered his comrades and inspired them to the finest efforts. Later, when two of our snipers were badly wounded in front of our trench, he went out and carried one of them in under very severe fire. He was killed just as he returned with the second man.

CORPORAL JOHN COLLINS, Royal Welsh Fusiliers.

For most conspicuous bravery, resource, and leadership, when, after deployment, prior to an attack, his battalion was forced to lie out in the open under heavy shell and machine-gun fire, which caused many casualties.

This gallant noncommissioned officer repeatedly went out under heavy fire and brought wounded back to cover, thus saving many lives. In subsequent operations throughout the day Corporal Collins was conspicuous in rallying and leading his command. He led the final assault with the utmost skill, in spite of heavy fire at close range and uncut wire. He bayoneted fifteen of the enemy, and with a Lewis-gun section pressed on beyond the objective and covered the reorganization and consolidation most effectively, although isolated and under fire from snipers and guns.

He showed throughout a magnificent example of initiative and fearlessness.

MAJOR ALEXANDER MALIUS LAFONE, late Yeoman.

For most conspicuous bravery, leadership, and self-sacrifice when holding a position for over seven hours against vastly superior enemy forces. All this time the enemy were shelling his position heavily, making it very difficult to see. In one attack, when the enemy cavalry charged his flank, he drove them back with heavy losses. In another charge they left fifteen casualties within twenty yards of his trench, one man, who reached

the trench, being bayoneted by Major Lafone himself.

When all his men, with the exception of three, had been hit and the trench which he was holding was so full of wounded that it was difficult to move and fire, he ordered those who could walk to move to a trench slightly in the rear, and from his own position maintained a most heroic resistance. When finally surrounded and charged by the enemy, he stepped into the open and continued to fight until he was mortally wounded and fell unconscious.

His cheerfulness and courage were a splendid inspiration to his men, and by his leadership and devotion he was enabled to maintain his position, which he had been ordered to hold at all costs.

CAPTAIN (ACTING MAJOR) OKILL MASEY LEARMOUTH, M. C., late Canadian Infantry.

For most conspicuous bravery and exceptional devotion to duty. During a determined counterattack on our new positions, this officer, when his company was momentarily surprised, instantly charged and personally disposed of the attackers. Later, he carried on a tremendous fight with the advancing enemy. Although under intense barrage fire and mortally wounded, he stood on the parapet of the trench, bombed the enemy continuously, and directed the defense in such a manner as to infuse a spirit of utmost resistance into his men.

On several occasions this very brave officer actually caught bombs thrown at him by the enemy and threw them back. When he was unable, by reason of his wounds, to carry on the fight he still refused to be carried out of the line, and continued to give instructions and invaluable advice to his junior officers, finally handing over all his duties before he was evacuated from the front line to the hospital where he died.

SECOND LIEUTENANT HUGH COLVIN, Cheshire Regiment.

For most conspicuous bravery in attack. When all the officers of his company except himself—and all but one in the leading company—had become casualties and losses were heavy, he assumed command of both companies and led them forward under heavy machine-gun fire with great dash and success. He saw the battalion on his right held up by machine-gun fire, and led a platoon to their assistance.

Second Lieutenant Colvin then went on with only two men to a dugout. Leaving the men on top, he entered it alone and brought up fourteen prisoners.

He then proceeded with his two men to another dugout, which had been holding

up the attack by rifle and machine-gun fire and bombs. This he reached, and, killing or making prisoners of the crew, captured the machine gun. Being then attacked from another dugout by fifteen of the enemy under an officer, one of his men was killed and the other wounded. Seizing a rifle, he shot five of the enemy, and, using another as a shield, he forced most of the survivors to surrender. This officer cleared several other dugouts alone or with one man, taking about fifty prisoners in all.

Later, he consolidated his position with great skill, and personally wired his front under heavy close-range sniping in broad daylight, when all others had failed to do so.

SECOND LIEUTENANT MONTAGU SHADWORTH SEYMOUR MOORE, Hampshire Regiment.

For most conspicuous bravery in operations necessitating a fresh attack on a final objective which had not been captured.

Second Lieutenant Moore at once volunteered for this duty and dashed forward at the head of some seventy men. They were met with heavy machine-gun fire from a flank which caused severe casualties, with the result that he arrived at his objective—some 500 yards on—with only a Sergeant and four men. Nothing daunted, he at once bombed a large dugout and took twenty-eight prisoners, two machine guns, and a light field gun.

Gradually more officers and men arrived, to the number of about sixty. His position was entirely isolated, as the troops on the right had not advanced, but he dug a trench and repelled bombing attacks throughout the night. The next morning he was forced to retire a short distance. When opportunity offered he at once reoccupied his position, rearmed his men with enemy rifles and bombs, most of theirs being smashed, and beat off more than one counterattack.

Second Lieutenant Moore held this post under continual shellfire for thirty-six hours until his force was reduced to ten men, out of six officers and 130 men who had started the operation. He eventually got away his wounded, and withdrew under cover of a thick mist.

As an example of dashing gallantry and cool determination this young officer's exploit would be difficult to surpass.

CAPTAIN HAROLD ACKROYD, M. D., late Royal Army Medical Corps.

For most conspicuous bravery. During recent operations Captain Ackroyd displayed the greatest gallantry and devotion to duty. Utterly regardless of danger, he worked continuously for many hours up and down and in front of the line tending the wounded and saving the lives

of officers and men. In so doing he had to move across the open under heavy machine-gun, rifle, and shell fire. He carried a wounded officer to a place of safety under very heavy fire. On another occasion he went some way in front of our advanced line and brought in a wounded man under continuous sniping and machine-gun fire. His heroism was the means of saving many lives, and provided a magnificent example of courage, cheerfulness, and determination to the fighting men in whose midst he was carrying out his splendid work. This gallant officer has since been killed in action.

SECOND LIEUTENANT GEORGE WYLD-BORE HEWITT, late Hampshire Regiment.

For most conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty when in command of a company in attack. When his first objective had been captured he reorganized the company and moved forward toward his objective. While waiting for the barrage to lift he was hit by a piece of shell, which exploded the signal lights in his haversack and set fire to his equipment and clothes. Having extinguished the flames, in spite of his wound and the severe pain he was suffering, he led forward the remains of the company under very heavy machine-gun fire, and captured and consolidated his objective. He was subsequently killed by a sniper while inspecting the consolidation and encouraging his men. This gallant officer set a magnificent example of coolness and contempt of danger to the whole battalion, and it was due to his splendid leading that the final objective of his battalion was gained.

CORPORAL TOM FLETCHER MAYSON, (Acting Lance Sergeant,) Royal Lancashire Regiment.

For most conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty when, with the leading wave of the attack, his platoon was held up by machine-gun fire from a flank. Without waiting for orders, Lance Sergeant Mayson at once made for the gun, which he put out of action with bombs, wounding four of the team. The remaining three of the team fled, pursued by Lance Sergeant Mayson, to a dugout, into which he followed them, and disposed of them with his bayonet. Later, when clearing up a strong point, this noncommissioned officer again tackled a machine gun single-handed, killing six of the team. Finally, during an enemy counterattack, he took charge of an isolated post, and successfully held it till ordered to withdraw, as his ammunition was exhausted. He displayed throughout the most remarkable valor and initiative.

War Widows of the Poor in Paris

By Anna Milo Upjohn

This extract from the journal of a war worker, like that by the same author in the January issue, portrays the courage with which the lonely war widows of France are trying to face their difficult problems. The author, an American, is the visiting inspector in Paris for the Fraternité Americaine, and the conditions that she here recorded in March, 1917, still prevail in the early months of 1918.

NO coal; but a hundred kilos of wood! It is stacked in a comfortable pile in the kitchen, and from it Angèle allows me five sticks an evening. At that rate it should be a long-drawn-out delight, like the sucking of a stick of candy. Angèle is our femme de chambre. She is a Bretonne, with a hard, flat figure like a man's, and sea-blue eyes that seem to look far beyond the confines of the room. She does not wear sabots, but she walks as though she did, and she has stern views as to the cleaning of a room.

I like the Bretons. Though they are unresponsive, inclined to suspicion and a race apart for obstinacy, yet there is a simplicity and strength about them which command respect. And they are proud and brave, with hidden depths of affection under their reticent bearing. I often come upon them on my rounds, and they are known to me at once by the shining coppers (a part of the marriage dower) which hang near the stove, no matter how poor the room. Only yesterday I stepped into such a kitchen, tiny and burnished as a ship's cabin. I found that Mme. Beguivin's home in Brittany was but a stone's throw from the village where I once spent an unforgettable Summer. We talked of shrimps and heather and of the pilgrimages to the holy springs which abound on the rocky peninsula. And then Mme. Beguivin brought her most sacred treasures and spread them before me.

HER SOLDIER'S BURLAP BAG

Millions of rough burlap sacks are sewn by the women of France, and every soldier takes one to the front with him. Into it are put those homely and intimate objects taken from his body when he is carried to a hospital or buried where he

has fallen. On the kitchen table Mme. Beguivin laid her poor little souvenirs with all the reverence and with infinitely more devotion than as if they had been the relics of a saint. Her man had gone away robust and courageous under the sloping cap of the Chasseurs d'Alpin, his strong legs strapped with blue puttees, and this was all that had come back to her. His shabby pocketbook, his watch, his pipe, a group photograph of the family, and, because he was a Breton, three silver amulets. Mme. Beguivin has sent her three children to her parents in Brittany, as she found that she could earn little or nothing while they were with her. Rather sagely she has thought out a place for the future and unhesitatingly faced toward it. Freed from the daily care of the children, she is able to enter a tobacco factory not far from the southern fortifications of Paris. The company owning the factory has another at Morlaix, and Mme. Beguivin has already applied for her transference there when the war is over. Until that time she can live more cheaply in Paris than elsewhere, because here she has no rent to pay. But after the war, when the moratorium is ended, she can probably manage on less at Morlaix, at the same time supporting her children and keeping them in the country.

Another little woman, also a Bretonne, has not been able to plan her way so clearly. She has reached the first stage only—the realization that her young life is ended. The rest is dark. I found the three little boys (all under 5) in the care of a neighbor while their mother was out searching for coal, and I waited for her to come in. The children were Bretons, I knew that instantly, strong limbed, fearless little men with that un-

SAMUEL GOMPERS



President of, the American Federation of Labor, who as the head of
two and a half million organized workers is co-operating with
the Government in the prosecution of the war

(Photo Paul Thompson)

PRINCE LEOPOLD OF BAVARIA



Commander in Chief of the Austro-German armies on the eastern front
(Photo Press Illustrating Service)

mistakable look of the sea, which lies not alone in the eye but in the lift of the chin, the straight line of the mouth, the whole attitude of facing the wind.

Mme. Guegan came in after a fruitless search for coal and potatoes, bringing only delicatessen fare for the three babies. She is small and thin almost to emaciation. "If I could get back to the sea," she said, with her head between her hands, "I might be able to think what to do!" I asked if she had any relatives living in Brittany. Only her mother. Of her three brothers, one had fallen and the others were at the front. Her mother lives alone in a little cottage in a village of the Côte du Nord. I know exactly the wee bit of a house it is, crouching behind the spur of granite, the wind tearing through the one ragged pine tree in front.

IN LINE FOR POTATOES

I have stood in line for potatoes myself today, near the Porte St. Ouen, and have borne them away in triumph in a newspaper cornucopia. It happened in this way: Intent upon finding the Widow Conpat and her two little girls, I stopped to ask on which floor they lodged, and discovered the concierge helpless with grip, and her paralyzed husband in bed in the one room which serves them as home. It was evident that she could not go out for food, so I offered, on coming down, to get what she needed for dinner. Potatoes, being very scarce, were the thing most desired, and she had heard that there were to be some for sale that morning for 50 centimes a kilo, (10 cents for two pounds.) She was agonized at the thought of the lost opportunity.

Fortunately I was early on the scene. A young soldier had just established himself on the sidewalk behind a long table heaped with potatoes, and was weighing them out in quantities of one and two kilos. No one was allowed more than two kilos. The line was forming rapidly and the potatoes were dropped into string bags without the ceremony of wrapping. I suddenly realized that I had nothing in which to carry off the spoils. Then remembering my newspaper, which happened to be of two

sheets, I handed it to the soldier and he deftly whisked it into an inverted cone, which with great care and agility could be made to accommodate a kilo of potatoes. The greenness of my procedure did not escape comment, and one old woman jeered audibly at me for taking advantage of an opportunity intended for the poor. Somewhat fussed, I escaped from the queue without capsizing the potatoes on the sidewalk. A small piece of meat, a handful of carrots and onions, so depleted my pocketbook that I was obliged to swing by means of the Metro from one side of Paris to the other in order to replenish it before I could get my own luncheon.

COLONIALS AND ONE-LEGGED MEN

The Kabyles (Mohammedan natives from the north of Africa) have been set to clean up the streets—picturesque figures, clad in regulation khaki from their waists down, their upper portions brilliant in embroidered jackets and turban or fez. Under their long brooms the melting snows swish through the gutters. Russian soldiers, too, are in evidence these days, looking a little mussed and like overgrown boys in their practical but abbreviated uniforms.

And now that the sidewalks are less incumbered a veritable army of one-legged men makes its appearance. They are mostly young men, broad-backed and ruddy-faced, swinging briskly along on crutch or stick, as though the mere loss of a limb were scarcely an impediment. How do they face a mutilated life with such unshaken courage? Perhaps it is the wonder that they should have escaped the full horror of the battlefield and have come back to find the world still beautiful and full of hope. They are welcomed, too, as heroes, and carry for life the badge of their courageous sacrifice.

There is another type of French soldier going about Paris who demands one's keenest sympathy. It is the middle-aged man with high cheek bones touched with feverish color, a long, thin nose and sparse beard, through which may be seen the convulsive movement of a prominent Adam's apple. He is con-

sumptive, and is termed Reformé No. 2. Wistfully he looks out from his sunken eyes, for unless he can go south or to the mountains the shattered life he has brought back from the trenches is of short duration. Usually he has a family dependent upon him, to whom his presence is a constant menace, and to whom his death will bring no pension, because he did not die at the front.

MUTILATED VICTIMS OF WAR

But perhaps the deepest pity is due those with strong limbs and bodies but whose faces are criss-crossed with bandages and bulging with pads; those whose dear and familiar features have been transformed into a repellent mask, who will never again be kissed with ecstasy and whose presence cannot fail to bring a shock to those they love best. But the women take back their battered heroes with a glorious devotion. The other day I saw a man who had lost both arms and both eyes being piloted across the space in front of the Madeleine by a slender young woman. Both looked radiantly happy.

In a London canteen a soldier with a cheek scarred from temple to chin, said brusquely: "Why don't you ask me where I got my wound, Ma'am?" and, without waiting for answer, continued: "Coming up in the bus just now an old lady looked at me with tears in her eyes till I leaned over and said, 'Don't you worry about my face, Ma'am; I got that in Peckham Heath at football.' You see, I couldn't bear her looking that sorry for me, and when you say nothing I am sure you are feeling the same." "Oh, no," I said, "I was thinking how proud some woman would be of that some day." "My word," he exclaimed, with a joyous laugh, "she's kissed every inch of it already!"

CARING FOR THE ORPHANS

As I go about the stormy streets, climbing dark stairways leading to stricken homes, I often wish that those who have given their \$36 a year for these French orphans might see for themselves the comfort and relief which their money brings and realize how wisely it is spent in the main.

And the children are such jolly little

specimens, in spite of the sinister atmosphere which, unknown to them, envelops their country and their babyhood.

* * * The best that we can do is to see that they have plenty of bread and milk—these very little boys and girls, who unconsciously make their appeal to us with their shy, merry, mischievous ways! Perhaps it is a round-eyed baby with downy hair and tiny reaching hands, or a little fellow with laughing blue eyes and square shoulders, or a typical little French girl, oval-faced and dark-eyed, refusing to play and grieving for her father, grieving most of all that she was not beside him in the trenches: "If I had been there I would not have let those boches hurt my little papa!"

The floor may be of polished wood, or of red tiles, but there is sure to be a cook stove about as big as a water bucket, and a sideboard out of all proportion to its surroundings, for that article of furniture seems as indispensable as is the bed or the round table. The little interior may be clean and attractive, no matter how poor, perhaps with a devoted grandmother in charge, while the mother works away from home. Sometimes it is dirty and chaotic, the children romping care-free about the place, the mother flattened against the window folding paper bags or feathering hat ornaments in the waning light.

The bourgeois apartment is not picturesque, but it often contains the more touching tragedy. Here strivings and aspirations had begun to be possibilities. Now the widowed mother, working indefatigably to keep the older children in school and the younger ones well nourished, cries out from the wreck of her hopes: "Do what I will, I can never make more than a home for my children. Their father would have given them a position in life!"

HOW WOMEN EARN A LIVING

There is, of course, a great difference in the earning capacity of the women, as well as in their ability to make four or five francs compass the daily needs of the family; but French thrift and good management are seldom lacking. Some mothers are young and equipped with a

modern training, which carries them into newspaper or recruiting offices or fits them for secretarial work in the various branches of the Ministry of War or of the Post. Some are dressmakers or modistes, searching anxiously for work now, and others go out by the day or half day to do cleaning and housework if they can find it. Then there are the more lucrative lines of employment, the making of uniforms, the tobacco factories, many of which employ only war widows having three or four children, and the munitions.

There are rumors of fabulous wages, 30 or 40 francs a day, paid in certain departments of the latter industry, but I have never met any one who was willing to own up to more than 4, [80 cents.] But if the pay is high, the hours are long and the work arduous. Often the women became broken in health or in morale in a short time. In almost every case in which the war widows have regular employment they have had to abandon their old pursuits and take up some new occupation. This they do with amazing courage and adaptability.

Not one but will tell you with wet eyes

that her *poilu* was the bravest, best-hearted *garçon* in the whole world, and at least one little woman with a wistful smile adds that he is not really dead—that it was some one else of the same name who died in the Florentine Hospital, and that after the war he will come back to her.

The tenderness of the French for children, particularly for little children, is very great. A touching sight is the *poilu* on leave taking his little girl for an outing. She comes into the Metro perched on his arm like a fluffy bird, is carefully settled on his knee—for the most hardened Parisian gives up his seat to any one carrying a child—her cloths are pulled down, her socks pulled up, her jacket loosened at the throat, and, possessing himself of a small hand, the heavy-footed warrior in the shabby uniform gazes enraptured at the tiny thing, with its satiny skin and limpid eyes, snuggling against him. When their station is reached she is stood on the seat, while one deft sweep of the blue sleeve straightens her little skirts and she makes her exit on a strong arm, her chubby fingers caressing the back of a seamy neck.

The Bombardment of Rheims

By Barr Ferree

THE bombardment of a single city that has lasted more than three years and is still in progress, [March, 1918,] would seem, even in this war of wars, an event certain to win universal attention. And when this bombardment has resulted in the practical destruction of one of the most important and beautiful architectural monuments in the world it scarcely seems necessary to draw attention to it. Yet the bombardment of Rheims, amounting, in some days, to the throwing of many thousands of shells on the beleaguered city and the attendant destruction of its great cathedral, has by no means received the attention from the world that it deserves; even in Paris the newspapers make reference to the daily bombardment only at long intervals.

The reason is not hard to find. There has been no neglect of Rheims, but its siege, terrible and terrifying as it is to its people, is but a minor episode in the great war. It has involved no great points of strategy; it has meant no huge accumulation of men and ammunition; it has not been a vital point. For the Germans it has been a work of destruction, and nothing else; even its surrender, after more than three years of effort, would yield them little prestige. Up to the present moment the accomplishment of their guns would seem scarcely to have compensated for the huge waste of ammunition.

It must be highly exasperating to the Germans to recall that they were once actually in Rheims. They occupied it for ten days in 1914, German officers en-

tering the city at 8:30 o'clock in the evening of Sept. 3; they evacuated it in the afternoon of Sept. 12, the actual time being thus less than ten full days. They were not ejected; they went—because the movement of troops on both sides was such that they could not remain. But they stayed long enough to prepare the way for the great disaster of Rheims, the burning of the cathedral. They filled the vast church with straw, intending to use it as a hospital for their wounded. The wounded Germans were placed in it only after the troops had left; but when an incendiary bomb set fire to the heavy wood scaffolding built several years before to restore the north tower, the straw within also caught fire and woefully aided in furthering the destruction of the cathedral.

But before this, so singularly works the German mind, the destruction of the city had been begun by a German bombardment on Sept. 4, while German officers were in charge of the city. On the morning before two aerial bombs had been dropped by an airplane; Rheims was then in French hands, and this might have been expected as an act of war. But the bombardment of Sept. 4, 1914, stands almost alone in the annals of war, for certainly there is no reason at all why a captured city should be bombarded by its captors. The Germans were unable to offer any explanation for this unheard-of proceeding. Great damage was done on that day, many buildings being ruined by shells and by fire.

The German evacuation of Sept. 12, 1914, was followed by the entrance of French officers at 6:30 P. M.; the French troops came in the next day, and the German bombardment began betimes the following morning, Sept. 14, at 5 A. M. The bombardment then started has never ceased. This is the tragedy of Rheims, this her martyrdom.

It is true that shells have not fallen every day. Occasionally a calm day, on which nothing happened, would be interspersed between periods of great artillery activity. This was particularly the case in 1915, when in several months the "calm" days actually outnumbered those of bombardment. On other days the

guns heard would be those on the front, Rheims itself being free from the fall of shells. But the possibility of shells was always present. No one could tell when the bombardment would be renewed, nor could one be certain that one's own house might not be the next to go. The bombardment hung over Rheims as an ever-present danger. A calm day would be followed by a calm night; or a peaceful night would be followed by a tempestuous day. The German airplanes became familiar visitors, coming generally in the early morning to spy out the land, or later in the day to take note of ruin accomplished.

It seems hardly necessary to point out that, with this terrible menace constantly hanging over them, the people of Rheims were reduced to all sorts of devices to protect their lives. Their property they could not save; that was at the mercy of the bombarders, but their lives they would not yield up without an effort. The wonder is that any were left in the city; many, of course, sought refuge elsewhere, but many still remained, and not until April, 1917, was the evacuation of the civil population finally ordered.

But the people of Rheims lost no time in reversing their modes of life. They betook themselves to the cellars and wine vaults. There they established their homes, such as they were; there schools were opened for the children; there the Mayor and other officials of the city had their offices and conducted public business; there the newspapers were edited, for Rheims boasted two daily papers until the Spring of 1917, and still retains one. Astonishing the vitality of the city, the courage and heroism of the people! The tenacity of the French to their home soil has nowhere been more amply illustrated than at Rheims, and its underground life, while the city above was being slowly shot to pieces, must rank among the wonders of the war.

Meanwhile things were going from bad to worse. December, 1916, was a comparatively calm month; only a few days with bombardments, and these with but a minor fall of shells. January, 1917, opened with utter calm. Shells fell on Jan. 2, and a few on the three succeeding

days. Events became more uncertain as time went on; there were days of bombardment and days of no bombardment. No one could tell what would happen next. On Feb. 2 the bombardment started in with some daily regularity; but since March 1, 1917, there have been barely half a dozen days in which Rheims has not been subjected to a bombardment.

The siege had assumed a new character. The bombardment of 1917 was almost continuous. Rheims was fairly drenched with shells. They were no longer to be counted by twos, threes, twenties, fifties, but by hundreds and thousands. On the two days of April 6 and 7 no less than 8,785 shells were counted. On April 12 the number for the single day rose to 7,000 or 8,000. Eighty fires were noted in Rheims from shells between April 7 and April 18. The beautiful Hotel de Ville took fire on May 3 and burned for two days. It was estimated that 15,000 shells fell between May 11 and 13, and the total for all months of 1917 reached gigantic figures.

July, 1917, was a dreadful month. Twelve hundred shells fell on July 3, 1,350 on July 12, more than 2,000 on July 13, from 2,500 to 3,000 on July 14, 800 on July 15, and 2,537 on July 16. July 17 was relatively calm, with 129 shells. Then a renewal on the 18th of 840 shells, dropping to 80 on the 19th, rising slightly to 119 on the 20th and then amounting to more than 900 on the 21st. Of these 30 fell between 7 and 8 o'clock in the morning, 30 from 8:30 to

11 A. M., 760 from 1 to 3 P. M., and 100 after 11 o'clock at night—a typical day of the great bombardment of Rheims.

Has anything been left of the city? That is the marvel of it. People are still in Rheims. Its heroic Mayor, Dr. Langlet, still carries on the business of his office. The Archbishop, Cardinal Luçon, still offers what succor he can to his sorely tried flock. The daily newspaper of Rheims, *L'Eclair de l'Est*, is still published. And while no detailed news has come out of Rheims for some months, it is known that the battered cathedral still stands. An enormous triumph for the French, a splendid tribute to their inexhaustible vitality and unconquerable heroism! That it is costing them dear goes without saying, but that they have kept on is superb. Even today, with the German shells carrying destruction into their midst, the blackened walls of Rheims are placarded with posters inviting subscriptions to the latest French loan! And this after more than three years of German battering!

It is quite impossible for any one not a German to elucidate the operations of the German mind. Even the Germans must find the job difficult at times. Judging from their great waste of ammunition—for their three years' gunfire has not yet eradicated Rheims from the surface of the earth—they have simply tried to make the destruction of the city as complete as possible. Their failure has been precisely as great as their effort. Rheims still lives. Vive Rheims!

Indians Among America's Fighters

Five thousand Indians have enlisted in the American Army and Navy for the present war, according to an estimate made early in 1918 by Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The Commissioner also stated that Indians had subscribed to more than \$9,000,000 worth of Liberty bonds, besides assisting in Red Cross work and creating a great increase in the output of meat and agricultural products on Indian reservations. He added: "There is something epochal and eloquent in the patriotic fervor and martial spirit of the Indians everywhere in the recent months."

Food Shortage in Central Empires

Official Summary of Living Conditions During 1917 as Revealed Through German and Austrian Sources

THE United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in the Fall of 1917 made a minute survey of internal conditions in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria, as revealed through published statements in those countries. The result was presented in an official report, which gave a clear understanding of the real economic status of the Central Powers at that time. As a historical record this possesses great value.

The report shows that Turkey was actually starving because of the corruption of her own officials and the greed of Germany; that Germany and Austria were not starving, but were having a hard struggle to feed themselves; that Hungary was in better shape than either Germany or Austria, and that Bulgaria, so far as food was concerned, was suffering the least of all the countries covered in the report. The report also showed that Germany failed by a wide margin to live up to her reputation for efficiency in her attempts at food administration, having been obliged to reverse her policies in an effort to remedy in part the fatal results of blundering. It showed, conclusively, that the civil populations of Germany and Austria were suffering permanent physical deterioration from lack of proper food, that the death rate from tuberculosis was rapidly increasing, that growing boys and girls were not getting more than half the nourishment they needed, and that manual laborers were being underfed to about the same extent.

Politically, the most interesting thing revealed by the report was the fact that the traditional hatred between the two parts of the Dual Monarchy, Austria-Hungary, was manifesting itself in an economic way in the refusal of Hungary to share her comparative abundance with Austria and in the official and public resentment of that fact in Vienna.

The report contains a statement from Dr. Schlittenbauer, Director of the Agricultural Central Co-operative Society of Ratisbon, asserting that the German food situation for 1917 was serious because of previous blunders in not making proper provision against the diminishing imports of fodder. The consequence is stated as follows:

Hundreds of thousands of thin animals, which might in the Summer have put on flesh finely for the Winter of 1917-18 in the green pastures, fell a sacrifice to the butcher's axe. Even the milch cows, the plow oxen, and, above all, the stock of calves and heifers which were to have prevented the milk famine, unfortunately have been slaughtered. The doubling of the meat ration was bound to have a bad effect on the stock of horned cattle as soon as the supply of pigs ready for slaughter gave out, which took place somewhere about May 20. The doubled meat ration necessitated from this time onward not a double amount of slaughtering from the stock of oxen, but a trebel amount, owing to the fact that the civil population formerly supplied its meat needs principally from pork, and that in Summer the average killing weight of pigs had seriously diminished.

ALL GAME DISTRIBUTED

Even the game and the fish taken by sportsmen are under strict regulation in Germany. Civil and military hospitals must be supplied, and even war prisoners have game if there is not sufficient beef. A small number of deer and wild boars and the smaller animals and birds killed by huntsmen go to the owners of the preserves. The rest of the bag is divided into halves, one for the local supply, the other for the cities. In Bavaria, two out of three wild boars must be delivered to the commune, also four out of every five hares, pheasants, and partridges after the first five. Maximum prices are fixed for partridge and wild duck.

Another food card has been added to the rest, says the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*. It is the card for hares, issued in five

sections. For a whole hare the entire card must be delivered; for back and legs, four sections; back or legs separately, two each; forelegs, or head, liver, &c., one section each. Every household of one to three persons is entitled to one card.

Preserved porpoise has been added to the list of edible fish, and some experiments have been made in getting fish from Rumania to the German cities.

The Berliner Tageblatt says: "Like so many other foodstuffs, fish has also disappeared from the Greater Berlin market during the war."

The Deutsche Tageszeitung, commenting on the lack of poultry and eggs, urges that the small bantam breeds be tried in the cities, where there is not room for larger fowls.

In Berlin the prices for fowls in the Summer of 1917, according to the lists printed in the Tageblatt, were:

	Pound.
First quality.....	\$1.19
Second quality.....	.99
Third quality.....	.84
Ducks .....	.86

DISSECTING A GOOSE

The Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger for Oct. 5 gave the following schedule of prices for parts of a goose:

Parts.	Price Per Pound.
Head and neck.....	\$0.95
Wings .....	.95
Gizzard and heart.....	.95
Pickled giblets	2.16
Liver	1.95
Liver sausage	1.73
Leg	1.41
Leg, smoked	1.95
Breast, with bone.....	1.90
Breast, smoked, with bone.....	2.49
Breast, without bone.....	1.95
Breast, smoked, without bone.....	2.71
Frame, with legs but without inwards	1.35
Scraps of meat.....	.93
Back fat	2.16
Stomach fat	1.52
Internal fat	1.73
Drippings	3.03
Melted pieces of fat.....	2.16
Pieces, roasted	2.37
Pieces, smoked	2.81

The Hamburger Fremdenblatt asserted that for four weeks in the Fall of 1917 Hamburg received no eggs. In September the retail price of eggs was fixed at \$1.14 a dozen. The Frankfurter

Zeitung quoted butter at 65 cents a pound.

In Greater Berlin the local fat office has reduced the young children's ration of whole milk, says the Lokal-Anzeiger. Children born since October, 1913, now get only .79 of a quart per day. In some towns, Nuremberg, for example, the ration is less than that. In several places there has been an attempt at compensation for reduced milk rations for children by increase of sugar allowance and by infant food preparations. Also, persons over 75 years of age are allowed these food preparations at the rate of 500 grams a week.

BABIES' MILK SUPPLY

In Hanover, according to the Hannoverscher Kurier, the milk saved by cutting down the allowance for babies is used for invalids.

All Germany suffered greatly in health from the dearth of fresh vegetables and fruits. In the last growing season Vorwärts, in its issue of July 25, contained the following from the Berlin municipal administration: "The German Towns Congress has been conducting an inquiry among the forty-two German towns with over 100,000 population each (not including Greater Berlin) as to whether there has been a shortage of fruits and vegetables during the last few weeks. Thirty-nine replies have been received, which, with very few exceptions, establish that the supply has been entirely inadequate. Several towns complain that the supply obtained through the imperial office is insufficient."

All the reports indicate a practical failure in the vegetable crop on account of drought and vermin plague. The fruit crop was only fair. At Hamburg apples were quoted from 3.9 cents to 14.1 cents per pound, pears 13 cents, and plums 10.8 cents per pound.

No experiment was left untried that might add to the country's supply of fats and oils. Fruit pits were pressed and every inducement offered to farmers to save everything that might produce even an infinitesimal amount of oil. The Vossische Zeitung of Berlin (Sept. 27) said:

A new source of oil production is now

being drawn upon—tomato seeds. The analysis of tomato seeds by the War Committee for oils gave a result of 20 to 24 per cent. of oil, 9.1 per cent. of water, and 4 per cent. of nitrogen. Tomato seeds are being collected everywhere in Germany and in the occupied territories, especially Rumania.

The Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger said:

Oil collectors for the Government are paying cash or soup cubes for fruit kernels and melon seed from which to extract oil for margarine. The soup cubes are delivered to collectors of kernels and are rated at the cash price of six-tenths of a cent per cube. Apple parings are being used as a substitute for tea.

The deaths from tuberculosis in Berlin in the three months ended with May, 1917, were 1,606, against 1,032 in the corresponding period of 1916; from pneumonia, 1,009, against 622. Infant mortality in Berlin, which was 9.62 in September, 1915, steadily rose and stood at 13.52 in June, 1917. The increased death rate was due to insufficient nourishment.

IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

In Austria the food conditions were at their worst in the industrial districts on the northern border of Bohemia and the Sudetic lands, (Moravia and Silesia.) The common pressure of hunger seems to have united Czech and German workmen against the food situation. The Bohemia, published at Prague, Sept. 10, summarized the demands of the metal workers as follows: "The bread ration for heavy workers to be increased from 4.6 to 6.6 pounds weekly; for other workers, from 3.1 to 4.6 pounds. The sugar ration for heavy workers to be raised from 3.3 pounds to 4.4 pounds per month; for other workers, from 2.2 to 3.3 pounds per month. The potato rations must be 8.8 pounds per person per week. Profit-eering must be suppressed."

The Arbeiter Zeitung of Vienna (Sept. 20) said that increases of wages for industrial workers in the Sudetic lands had not alleviated the suffering, that thousands of workmen had not had any increases. In food disturbances in Moravia it was proved that thousands were earning less than \$4.06 a week and only a very few as much as \$6.09. In North-

ern Moravia many weavers were earning only \$1.42 per week or less.

In the resolutions adopted by the workmen in a conference at Brunn was the following: "The industrial workers of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, without distinction of language and nationality, are suffering intolerably in consequence of transport difficulties and the high cost of food. These conditions cannot be explained as due to scarcity of foodstuffs, but are founded on the two following causes: The passive resistance of the agrarian population to the regulations of the Food Administration and the faulty and senseless organization of the Food Administration itself."

PRICES OF HORSE MEAT

The prices of horseflesh for food in September, 1917, were quoted in the Volksblatt of Vienna as follows:

Parts of Horse.	Cents per Pound.
Forequarter	41.3
Hindquarter	51.7
Roast pieces, sirloin, loin, haunch.....	59.9
All other cuts.....	41.3
Horst tongue	32.2
Horse lung, raw.....	9.1
Horse lung, cooked.....	10.9
Horse liver, heart, brains, or kidney....	15.0
Horse sausage	42.2
Horse fat	59.9

The retail price fixed for eggs at the same time was 7.2 cents each for Russian-Polish eggs and 9.8 cents each for Hungarian eggs.

The Vienna Fremdenblatt of Oct. 10, 1917, stated that Vienna's milk supply, which in peace times was 951,000 quarts a day, had fallen to 211,340 quarts a day. This was explained by the slaughter of cows for lack of fodder.

Highest retail prices for vegetables in Vienna on Sept. 29 were reported in Die Zeit of that date as follows:

	Cents per Pound.
French and butter beans.....	20.7
Pumpkins	10.1
Cucumbers	5.9
Viennese onions.....	17.0
Native onions.....	22.5
Garlic	25.8
Red cabbage.....	15.1
Leaf spinach.....	8.5
Stalk spinach.....	6.6
Brussels sprouts.....	21.2
Green cabbage.....	14.2

	Cents Each.
Hungarian peppers.....	3.0
Cooking lettuce.....	4.5
Cabbage lettuce.....	4.1
Fine crinkled lettuce.....	4.9
Kohlrabi	6.5
Hungarian maize in ear.....	5.3
Native maize in ear.....	5.7
Cauliflower	11.0
Large radishes.....	4.1
Small table radishes (per bunch).....	4.9

Until the war stress became serious pumpkins were never considered fit food for humans in Austria. They were used formerly only as fodder for swine.

THE POOR IN VIENNA

Public kitchens (volksküchen) were much used in Vienna during August, 1917. With the return of cold weather, the coal shortage, and the inconvenience of waiting in line, the number of persons patronizing these kitchens was further increased. In an interview with a representative of *Die Zeit*, Dr. Eisler, President of the Union of Public Kitchens, expressed himself as follows:

Ninety-nine public kitchens now belong to the union, in which 49,000 persons of Vienna are fed daily. The largest of these kitchens is that attached to Krupp's Metal Works at Berndorf, feeding 7,000 persons per day. In other kitchens the number of patrons ranges from 30 to 2,200.

No fresh milk is used in the kitchens. In certain dishes for which milk is an essential ingredient only powdered milk is used; this in very limited quantities, which often run short.

Much economy has to be observed in the use of flour. The managers of the individual kitchens have no easy task in apportioning their flour quota when preparing farinaceous dishes. A weekly ration of only $\frac{1}{4}$ kilogram (.55 pound) per capita is allowed on the food cards. According to the supplies on hand, a further very limited quantity of potato flour is sometimes allowed without cards to eke out the scanty supply of grain flour.

Nothing definite can at present be stated with respect to pulse. For the period from July 22 to Oct. 1 the kitchens were assigned three wagonloads by the Provisional Government. Naturally, considering present conditions, these had to be used very sparingly. A considerable portion, too, had to be stored up.

A midday meal costs the guests from 2 to 2.30 crowns, (40.6 to 46.7 cents.) In some kitchens it is as low as 1.50 to 1.80 crowns, (30.5 to 36.5 cents.) It is doubtful whether these extraordinarily cheap

prices can be maintained. For purely technical reasons, it has hitherto proved impossible to provide a cheap evening meal. People must regard the hot mid-day meal as their principal meal and content themselves with a cold supper.

The Hungarian Socialist paper *Nepszava* printed a percentage table showing the comparison of war food prices in Hungary and in England, taking as the periods for comparison the months of July, 1914, and June, 1917, for both countries:

PER CENT. OF INCREASE

	In England.	In Hungary.
Beef, ribs	96	700
Bacon	76	350
Flour	109	64
Sugar	188	65
Milk	60	180
Butter	65	200
Eggs	95	200
Potatoes	144	115

According to those figures the prices of flour, sugar, and potatoes had risen more in England than in Hungary, whereas the increases in beef, bacon, milk, butter, and eggs had been far greater in Hungary.

IN BULGARIA AND TURKEY

Bulgaria being a predominantly agricultural country, the food situation in the nation at large was by no means acute, according to the report. In the capital, Sofia, however, the population had increased to such an extent that distribution was difficult and all newcomers who had no war business to keep them in the city had been ordered to leave.

The prices of meats in Sofia last quoted were 28.9 cents a pound for lamb or kid; heads, 19 cents each, and livers, 38 cents each.

Slaughtering of pigs in Bulgaria was prohibited from Sept. 6 to Dec. 10. The weekly meat ration for Sofia, as reported in the *Narodni Prava* of Sept. 6, was .44 of a pound per person distributed over Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Sundays. To supplement the meat supply there is an abundance of fish from the Danube marshes, the Lower Maritsa, and the Aegean Sea.

Milk prices fixed for Sofia on Oct. 10 were 20 cents a quart for fresh milk delivered, 24 cents for boiled milk at the

shops, and 27 cents for curdled milk. The price of butter was fixed at the same time at \$1.05 per pound.

French beans were only 8.8 cents a pound in Sofia when they were selling for 20.7 in Vienna and 11 cents in Budapest. Cabbage in Sofia sold for 2.2 cents per pound when it was 15.1 cents a pound in Vienna and 7.9 a pound in Budapest. Apples were selling in Bulgaria at 9 cents a pound when the price in Germany was 14 cents.

The suffering of the people in Turkey, the report says, is not and has not been due to shortage of food crops, for the crops on the whole have been good and the acreage increased, but to the corruption and graft of officials and to the fact that Germany has taken vast quantities of Turkey's supplies away from her. But this greed of Germany to supply her own lack and the extortion of Turkish officials combined have been more than sufficient to reduce the people of that country to a far worse condition than that obtaining in any of the other Central Empires, so-called. In Germany and Austria the word starvation is still something of a figure of speech. In Turkey it is a word to be taken literally. Profiteering is unrestricted.

Bread costs eleven times as much as before the war, sesame oil more than thirteen times as much, coal eight times as much, salt eight times as much, beans and tea fifteen times as much, wood six times as much, milk five times as much. Butter at Constantinople is \$2.33 a pound.

Weekly Foodstuff Rations in Twenty-four German Towns

The following table, compiled from local German papers, shows the average weekly rations of principal foodstuffs in twenty-four representative German towns during August, 1917. Blanks indicate merely that information was unobtainable:

	Bread.	Flour.	Groats.	Fresh Meat.
	Lbs. Oz.	Oz.	Oz.	Oz.
Aix-la-Chapelle ...	3 13.7	..	3.1	6.2
Altona	3 14.8	3.1	1.8	10.1
Berlin	3 14.6	.9	.9	13.2
Charlottenburg ...	3 14.6	.9	2.2	13.2
Schoeneberg	3 14.6	.9	2.2	13.2
Wilhelmsdorf ....	..	..	1.5	13.2
Bremen .....	..	2.2	..	13.2
Breslau	4 2.1	..	..	13.2
Brunswick	3 8.4	..	2.6	13.2
Dresden	3 13.7	..	2.2	13.2
Duren .....	..	..	1.8	10.6

	Bread.	Flour.	Groats.	Fresh Meat.
	Lbs. Oz.	Oz.	Oz.	Oz.
Duesseldorf .....	..	..	1.8	9.7
Frankfort-on-Main..	3 13.7	1.9	2.6	10.6
Gladbach	3 9.3	..	1.8	13.2
Hamburg (urban)...	3 14.1	7.4	2.4	6.2
Hamburg (rural)...	3 14.0	..	.9	13.2
Hanover	3 15.5	..	4.4	12.3
Kiel .....	..	..	..	13.2
Krefeld .....	..	..	8.8	12.3
Leipzig	13.7	2.6	1.1	10.6
Magdeburg	3 15.5	..	1.1	13.2
Munich	3 13.7	..	..	13.2
Strassburg	4 3.0	..	..	11.5
Stuttgart .....	..	..	..	..

	Eggs.	Butter.	Pota- toes.	Sugar.	Jam.
	Av. No.	Oz.	Lbs. Oz.	Oz.	Oz.
Aix-la-Chapelle ...	¼	2.2	3 4.9	6.2	3.5
Altona	1¾	2.8	6 1.0	5.7	4.2
Berlin	¼	1.8	5 8.2	..	..
Charlottenburg ...	¾	1.8	4 15.4	..	4.4
Schoeneberg .....	..	1.8	5 12.6	5.9	4.4
Wilhelmsdorf ....	..	1.8	4 6.5	..	8.8
Bremen	1	2.1	4 2.1	..	2.2
Breslau	¼	1.8	3 .5	..	..
Brunswick	1	2.6	5 8.2	6.6	..
Dresden	1	2.2	2 12.1	..	.9
Duren .....	..	1.9	4 13.7	..	5.5
Duesseldorf	½	2.2	4 15.4	..	2.2
Frankfort-on-Main .	¾	1.3	2 12.1	6.2	6.6
Gladbach	½	2.4	5 3.8	6.3	..
Hamburg (urban)...	½	1.1	5 8.2	5.7	4.0
Hamburg (rural)...	..	..	5 2.9	7.0	..
Hanover	1	..	2 12.1	..	..
Kiel .....	..	..	..	..	2.2
Krefeld	½	..	4 15.4	..	1.3
Leipzig	½	2.5	..	..	2.6
Magdeburg .....	..	1.1	6 1.0	..	..
Munich	1	2.6	3 .5	6.6	2.2
Strassburg	1	..	5 8.2	..	..
Stuttgart .....	..	..	8 4.2	..	..

Rise in Food Cost in First Three Years of War

Retail prices of meats, fish, fruits, and vegetables in the markets of Leipzig for the first weeks of August, 1914 and 1917. Table shows the percentages of war increases. Unless otherwise stated, the prices are per pound:

(Source: Leipziger Volkszeitung, Leipzig, Sept. 20, 1917.)

Article.	1914.	1917.	P.C. Inc.
Beef, loin	\$0.302	\$0.751	149
Veal, leg .....	.215	.475	120
Pork, leg .....	.173	..	..
Liver pudding (leberwurst)....	.151	.432	186
Blood pudding (blutwurst)....	.151	.432	186
Pickled pork .....	.151	.345	129
Goose .....	.194	.918	372
Flounder .....	.130	.324	150
Haddock .....	.108	.238	120
Apples .....	.043	.136	215
Pears .....	.043	.130	200
Bilberries .....	.069	.108	56
Tomatoes .....	.043	.259	500
Rhubarb (bunch).....	..	.060	..
Cauliflower (head).....	.060	.190	220
Green peas.....	.022	.215	900
Kohlrabi (ten).....	.071	.476	567

August, August, P.C.			August, August, P.C.		
Article.	1914.	1917. Inc.	Article.	1914.	1917. Inc.
Savoy (head).....	.024	.119 400	Beans .....	.045	.093 105
Red cabbage .....	.060	.119 100	Condensed milk, sweetened (can) .....	.131	.405 209
White cabbage .....	.048	.119 150	Eggs (each).....	.017	.076 357
Carrots (bunch).....	.024	.143 500	Soap, first quality.....	.155	.864 456
Radishes (each).....	.012	.060 400	Butter, first quality.....	.259	.626 142
Cucumbers .....	.048	.071 50	Wheat flour .....	.043	.056 30
Mushrooms .....	.215	.756 250	Margarine .....	.181	.432 138
Jam, first quality.....	.097	.302 211	Limburger cheese .....	.108	.194 80
Artificial honey, in boxes.....	.079	.119 57	Lard .....	.194	.915 371
Artificial honey, loose.....	.076	.119 57	Wheat grits .....	.043	.097 125
Syrup .....	.043	.076 75	Farinaceous food .....	.076	.110 46
Sauerkraut .....	.013	.035 167	Bread .....	.032	.035 7
Fifty per cent. coffee.....	..	.475 ...	Hulled barley .....	.039	.065 67
Twenty-five per cent. coffee....	..	.302 ...	Prepared oats, loose.....	.076	.095 26
Ten per cent. coffee.....	..	.199 ...	Prepared oats, in packages....	.107	.133 24
Onions .....	.013	.043 233	Potato flakes.....	.019	.086 344
Herrings .....	.048	.215 355	Potato starch flour.....	.039	.058 50
Bloaters (each).....	.012	.214 1,700	Potatoes .....	.006	.022 233
Smoked herrings (each).....	.036	.214 500	Salad oil .....	.215	.756 250

New Light on Polish History

The World War a Sequel to the American Civil War,
Professor Lutoslawski's Interpretation*

THE war most similar to the present world war was the conflict of more than fifty years ago between the Northern and Southern sections of the United States of America. So says the eminent Polish philosopher, Professor Vincent Lutoslawski, in an article on the "Meaning of the World War," in the Chicago Dziennik Zwiazkowy. The Southern defenders of slavery had a better military organization than the Northerners, and in the fourth year of the war it still seemed that they would be able to gain the ascendancy.

They charged the Northern industrialists with being concerned not at all for the emancipation of the negroes, but only for the hindrance of the industry of the South, which was developing, thanks to the cheap labor of the slaves. In a like manner, the Germans now are charging the English with being concerned chiefly for the ruin of German competition in industry, which rests on cheap production, due to the fewness of German strikes and the greater political dependence of the workman.

But, such charges are false. The Germans are waging the war for material gains, just as the defenders of slavery in America waged it for that object. And

if the Northern States triumphed then it was because they were fighting for an ideal that exalted the spirit and the hearts, not only of the industrialists, but also of the whole people. Similarly in this war, it is a question of a great ideal—the abolition of the slavery of nations, which the Germans introduced into Europe and which they wish to maintain. The world war began with the invasion of two small countries, the German assault on Belgium and the Austrian assault on Serbia. It will be concluded with the gaining of the right for the weakest nation to live its own natural life without the need of standing in fear of violence and outrage from the strongest neighbors. Therefore, the present war is, as it were, a continuation of the American civil war. At that time it was a question of the abolition of the slavery of individuals; now, it is a question of making impossible the slavery of nations.

"During the first two years of the world war this was not realized," observes Professor Lutoslawski, "and there was proclaimed as one of the aims of the war the conquest of the whole of

*Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by Wacław Perkowski.

Poland for the Czar of Russia—the unification of Poland under one of her oppressors. This impaired the character of the world war, discredited it in the eyes of many Poles, and even led some of them to service in the ranks of Poland's worst and immemorial foes. But when the Czar fell, and when the socialism of the Muscovites manifested its military impotence, then all began to comprehend that a strong Poland is needful in Europe. This was proclaimed first by President Wilson, after him by the revolutionary Russian Government, and then by France, England, and Italy. Now the war is waged for the independence of a United Poland. This aim is recognized universally."

GAUL AND GERMANY

The present war not only constitutes the ending of the great conflicts of history, but it also decides the strifes of the Germans with their various neighbors, says this writer. Old is the rivalry between the peoples living west of the Rhine and those who had settled on the eastern bank of that river. Two thousand years ago, according to the testimony of Caesar, Gaul constituted a definite whole and reached to the Rhine. Later the land of the Celts yielded to the invasions of the Germanic Franks, and from them it received the name of France. But the Franks were absorbed by the children of the soil, and the French of today regard themselves as more Gallic than Frank. For the boundaries of the Rhine the rulers of France have carried on with their eastern neighbors an age-long contest. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Napoleon extended the limits of France to the Rhine and beyond the Rhine; but the French dominion in the Rhine provinces, though eagerly greeted by the population in those times, did not last long.

"Now France wants to regain her lost territories; and this restitution concerns not only France, but also the whole world. For if the Germans shall be able to keep their conquests, there will prevail in Europe the spirit of hate; while if the Germans shall have to return to their former boundaries, the

French spirit of political freedom—a nobler spirit than the German—will have the predominating influence on the future system of the world."

SLAVONIANS AND GERMANS

The Germans and Slavs also have been carrying on a contest for 2,000 years. In olden times the seats of the Slavonians reached to the Laba (German Elbe) River, and Professor Lutoslawski recalls the fact that Dresden, Leipsic, Berlin, Rostock, Bremen, are cities founded by the Slavonians.

"Little by little the Germans, impelled by their pressure to the east, (Drang nach Osten,) seized on the Slavonic countries between the Laba and the Oder, then between the Oder and the Vistula, and now they have reached the Niemen. The Poles defeated the Germans as long ago as the reign of Miecislav I., in the tenth century; then in the reign of Boleslaus the Valiant, who, after a conflict of many years, fixed the western boundary of Poland by the peace of Budziszyn, (Bautzen,) in 1018. Ninety years later Boleslaus III. beat the Germans on the Dogs' Field, near Breslau, (in 1109,) and reconquered Pomerania, converting the Slavonic Pomeranians to Christianity. Poland at that time bordered on Denmark. Later, the Germans again gained the ascendancy; until, in 1331, Ladislaus the Ell-long routed them at Plowce, and thenceforward their pressure to the east was curbed for a time. The battle of Grünwald in 1410 and the ensuing conflicts with the Knights of the Cross, (Teutonic Knights,) waged with the participation of the Lithuanians and Ruthenians, exorcised the German danger for a long time and led to the peace of Thorn in 1466, after which the Grand Master of the Knights of the Cross became a vassal of the Polish King.

FATE OF POLISH EMPIRE

"The Poles did not at that time back King Casimir IV. in crushing the Knights of the Cross utterly, and they prepared a hard lot for themselves. The two German dynasties—the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns—prepared the downfall of Poland through their matrimonial

combinations. Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg, married Sophia, sister of Sigismund the Old, King of Poland. Frederick's son Albert, Grand Master of the Knights of the Cross, obtained Prussia in 1525 from his uncle, the King of Poland, as a secular fief. In this way, by obtaining the hand of a royal Princess of Poland, the Brandenburger possessed himself of territory that he could not have gained by arms. It reached to the heart of Poland. In a similar way, the Hapsburgs obtained from the Jagiellons Bohemia and Hungary. In these countries there reigned Ladislaus of the Polish dynasty of Jagiellons; and with him Emperor Maximilian in 1515 concluded a special agreement in Vienna betrothing—subject to later choice—his two grandsons to Anna, the daughter of Ladislaus. When Louis, the son of Ladislaus and his successor on the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary, fell at Mohacs, in 1526, in defense of the freedom of the peoples of Europe against the Turkish invasion, Ferdinand of Austria, the husband of Anna, King Louis's sister, seized Bohemia and Hungary.

POLES UNDER TEUTONIC RULE

"In this way, the German dynasties, when they could not conquer Poland by arms, lessened the heritage of the Jagiellons through marriages with Polish Princesses. From that time the Prusso-Austrian intrigue for 250 years was preparing the downfall of Poland by artifice and treachery, rather than by military force; until by the partitions of Poland it annihilated the hearthstone of Slavonic freedom in the East, and by making a perverse German woman, Sophia von Anhalt-Zerbst, (the widow of Czar Peter von Holstein-Gottorp,) the Czarina of Muscovy under the name of Catherine II., it opened for itself the road to Asia.

"The cause of the Slavonians seemed lost forever. The most ancient Slavonic people, the Poles, was brought under the yoke of Prussia, of Muscovy ruled by Germans, and of Austria, oppressor of other Western Slavonians. The Muscovites, being not Slavonians themselves, but a Turanian people that had adopted the Slavonic tongue from its Princes and

priests, joined with the Germans to obliterate the traces of the existence of Poland.

"But this world war, discrediting Czarism and then the Russian Republic also in the sight of Europe, has evinced how needful is a strong Poland for the guarding of the world against the rapacity of the Germans. This war is the reprisal of the Slavonians; and one of its aims is the repulsion of the German wave pressing to the East, the deliverance of Bohemia, Serbia, and Poland—the three principal Slavonic nations—from the yoke of the German dynasties."

POLAND AND MUSCOVY

Besides their struggle with the Germans, the Poles for centuries protected Europe from the Turanian invaders—the Turks, Tartars, and Muscovites. When Muscovy passed under the dominion of the Germans, with the Holstein-Gottorp dynasty of Czars, the conflict of Poland with Muscovy became an episode of the general contest with the Germans. In these two neighboring countries—Poland and Russia—we see two worlds, different and diametrically opposite, says Professor Lutoslawski. The revolts of Poland after the partitions were directed chiefly against Muscovy. But the world war closes this struggle and reconciles Poland with Muscovy, just as it unites France and England, although those two neighbors likewise carried on age-long contests with each other.

"There has been accomplished the prediction of the Polish poet, Mickiewicz, which, in his 'Ancestors,' he puts in the mouth of the Priest Peter: 'The worst, the most barbarous, of the executioners has become a convert, and God will pardon him.' The Muscovites, since the banishment of the German dynasty of Czars, are renouncing their conquests; they do not want even Constantinople, which their rulers had coveted for centuries. The Muscovite State is splitting up of itself—it is losing Finland, Poland, Ukraina, and the Caucasus, and it will probably lose Siberia also. So there is no one there with whom the Poles need to fight. Poland will manage herself at home in the Polish way, and the Muscovites will govern their country in their own way.

Shortly it will appear with whom the Ruthenians will hold more closely."

The Poles and Muscovites have struggled for centuries for Ruthenia. A great part of Ruthenia manifested its solidarity with the Polish Nation by its participation in all the Polish revolts against the Czars in 1794, 1830, 1863, and 1905. The natural eastern frontier of Poland is the Dnieper, as that of France is the Rhine. German intrigue has excited the Ruthenians against the Poles, in order to dominate them more easily. However, when the Ruthenians are free they will feel the need of reunion with Poland, with which they have been united for more than 500 years. Then the age-long contest between the Poles and Russians will be terminated, and the Russians will have a vast field of expansion in Asia, where no one will dream of competition with them, except the Japanese.

DOWNFALL OF AUSTRIA

The present war, the writer continues, is also the end of the struggles waged by subjugated nations against the iniquitous rule of the Hapsburgs. The Italians, Bohemians, Slovaks, Croats, Slovenians, Rumanians, are freeing themselves and are throwing off the yoke. The Hapsburgs are retaining only their German subjects. This is a conflict of the dynastic principle with the principle of the freedom of nations—a definitive retaliation for the crafty seizure of Bohemia and Hungary and for the participation in the partitions of Poland.

"This perverse, cruel dynasty must fall, and every nation oppressed by it will obtain independence," says Professor Lutoslawski in conclusion. "The world war is a war against the Asiatic principle of dynastic rule, which was introduced into Europe by the Germanic peoples, (or Indo-Germans, as they call themselves;) while the Celts, the Slavonians, the Romans, and the Greeks elected their chiefs for themselves. Austria is the work of the oldest and most perverse German dynasty, which has most cruelly oppressed the peoples subject to it, and which, by the seizure of Bohemia and Hungary from the Jagiellons, prepared the downfall of Poland.

One of the results of the war must be the downfall of Austria for the security of national liberty in Central Europe."

Regarding the process that changed the original Turanians into "Slavonians," the author says they completed this process toward the end of the eighteenth century by changing their ancient name of Muscovites to that of Russians, so that they could justify their pretensions to Rus, (Ruthenia,) the province of Poland inhabited by the Ruthenians, a Slavonic people. This province, united with Poland since the fourteenth century, comprised—to use the nomenclature introduced into geography by anti-Polish statesmen and historians—Black Russia, [the present Governments of Grodno and Minsk;] White Russia, [the Governments of Mohilev and Vitebsk;] Little Russia, [the Governments of Kiev, Czernichov, Poltava, and Charkov,] all under Russian dominion, and Red Russia, [Galicia, which is under Austrian dominion.] The old truth about the Turanian origin and character of the Muscovites was recalled in the works of Francis Duchinski, a Polish writer, especially in his "*Nécessité des reformes dans l'histoire des peuples Aryans, Européens et Tourans*," Paris, 1864, and by the Frenchman Henry Martin in his "*La Russie et l'Europe*," Paris, 1867. These works should be read, says Professor Lutoslawski, by all that wish to understand the present situation of Europe and especially the barrenness of the Russian revolution, accomplished mainly by foreign elements.

A characteristic mark of the history of Poland is the situation of the Poles between two denationalized peoples—on the east denationalized Turanians, called Muscovites; on the west denationalized Slavonians, called Prussians. The Prussians are renegade Slavonians—Slavonians that remained in their country between the Elb and the Oder after its subjugation by the Germans and became Germanized and adopted the name of the Lithuanian tribe that was exterminated by the Knights of the Cross; while those Slavonians who did not want to endure the German rule removed to Poland and became Poles.

Serbia's History in the Light of the War

By Woislav M. Petrovitch

Author of "Serbia: Her People, History, and Aspirations," &c., Former Attaché to the Royal Serbian Legation to the Court of St. James's

OUR American friends had hardly learned the name and spelling of "Serbia," as the correct substitute for the superannuated solecism, "Servia," when lo! we brought before them a new appellation, "Jugoslavia." In a footnote of my work, "Hero Tales and Legends of the Serbians," I explained the paramount significance of that "b" and the falsehood of the "v," and the suggestion was readily accepted both in Great Britain and this country, while an imperial ukase was necessary for the change of St. Petersburg to Petrograd. And now that we have advanced the name "Jugoslavia," I must explain that this word is combined from "Jug" (meaning in Serbian *South*) and "Slavia," (meaning *Slavdom*), being a collective appellation of all Serbian-speaking lands, namely, Serbia, Montenegro, the greater part of Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Batchka, Banat, Syrmia, Carniola, Carinthia, Croatia, Slavonia, and part of Istria. Owing to the territorial situation and foreign influences there appear three names for one and the same people in those provinces, but all the three groups—Serbians, Croatians, and Slovenians (or Slovenes)—speak the same language, with only slight dialectic differences, (what language has not its own?) again largely due to foreign influences. As for religions, the Serbians mostly profess the Eastern Orthodox, while Croatians and Slovenians adhere to the Roman Catholic faith.

The entire history of the Serbians is a tragedy. Before the great migration of peoples the Serbians are supposed to have lived in Galicia, whence, in the course of the seventh and eighth centuries, they descended to the shores of the Black Sea and moved westward along

the northern bank of the Danube, and, crossing the river, settled mostly in the territories which they inhabit at the present time. The Emperor of Byzantium, Heraclius, (610-641,) unable to oppose an effective resistance, ceded to the Serbians all the provinces thereto inhabited by the Latins, Illyrians, Thracians, Greeks, and Pelasgi.

The pagan and uncultured Serbians came now into constant intercourse with the civilized Byzantines, and gradually were converted to Christianity, especially (during the ninth century) by the so-called Slav apostles, Kyrillus and Methodius. As the Serbians were divided into many tribes, antagonistic to one another, they became, naturally, an easy prey to the repeated attacks of the Byzantines and Fino-Bulgars, though they were never completely subjugated. Several attempts were made by their Zhupans (Counts) to effect a union of the many tribes and to form a powerful State, but it was only in the course of the twelfth century that the Grand Zhupan Stephan Nemanja succeeded in uniting under his sceptre and in freeing from the Byzantine suzerainty all the Serbian lands, Rashka, Zeta, Trebinje, Hum, Scutari, Cattaro, &c., placing Ban Kulin, an ally, upon the throne of Bosnia.

Nemanja strengthened the Orthodox religion in his State by building numerous churches and monasteries (especially Hilendar, or Vilindar, at Mount Athos) and by banishing from his country the heretic Bogumils, who settled in Bosnia. He abdicated (1196) in favor of his able son, Stefan, who was the first crowned King of Serbia. But Nemanja's eldest son, Vukan, as the rightful heir to the throne, fiercely antagonized his brother Stefan by using the influence of Hungary and the Popes, who wished to spread

Catholicism in Serbia and put an end to the Bogumil sect in Bosnia. When the Crusaders vanquished Constantinople, St. Sava, Nemanja's youngest son, succeeded in emancipating the Serbian Church from the influence of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and in securing a complete autonomy, (1219,) becoming himself the first Serbian Archbishop.

King Stefan Proventchani (i. e., the first crowned) was succeeded by his worthless son, Radoslav, (1227-1233,) and there followed a century and a half of dynastic wars and general confusion, until the tottering Serbian State was finally overrun, after the memorable battle of Kossovo, (1389,) by the growing power of the Turk. One after the other all the other Balkan provinces fell before the Ottoman invasion, and a horrible epoch of bondage and slavery advened for the Balkan Christians, which lasted for more than four centuries.

THROWING OFF THE TURKISH YOKE

But when the Turkish rule became quite unendurable a Serbian soil-tiller, Kara-George Petrovitch, started a revolution, (in 1804,) at first only with his four armed servants, but in the course of the two following years he succeeded in forming an army of about 80,000, with which he defeated in a series of battles the imperial Ottoman armies and freed the greater part of Serbia along the banks of the Danube and the Morava. However, the Turks profited by the engagement of Europe, and more especially of Russia in the struggle with Napoleon, and sent large armies against Serbia in three different directions. These again conquered the country.

Kara George left Serbia in 1813 to seek aid, first in Austria and later in Russia. In his absence Milosh Obrenovitch, one of Kara George's lieutenants, made a fresh attempt to liberate the Serbian people from the Turkish yoke, and in 1815 he was successful in re-establishing the autonomy of the Pashalik of Belgrade. During the progress of his operations Kara George, who had made an alliance with the Greeks and the Rumanians for joint action against the Turks, returned to Serbia, but was cruelly

assassinated at Smederevo (1817) by order of Milosh, who then proclaimed himself hereditary Prince of Serbia and was approved as such by the Sublime Porte. While very wise in home affairs, Milosh openly opposed himself to Russian influence in Serbia and incurred the bitter hostility of that power, which forced him to abdicate in 1839 in favor of his son, Michailo.

This young Prince was a very subtle diplomat with the Turks, from whom he rescued and annexed to his independent State several important Serbian towns without shedding a drop of blood. He was banished in 1842 and was succeeded by Alexander Kara-Georgevitch, (1842-1860,) son of Kara-George Petrovitch. Under the prudent though meek rule of that Prince Serbia obtained a modern Constitution, but an unfortunate foreign policy and the corruption of the Serbian statesmen forced him to abdicate and leave the country. The Skupshtina (National Assembly) restored Milosh in 1860, but he died in that same year and was succeeded again by his son, Michailo, (1860-1868,) who was most cruelly assassinated at Toptchider, near Belgrade. As his only successor, Milan, was not of age, a regency of three (Blaznavatz, Gavrilovitch, and Ristitch) was appointed, and they secured from the Porte an acknowledgment of the young Prince as hereditary ruler and framed (in 1869) a Constitution which gave some satisfaction to the conflicting political parties.

SERBIA WINS INDEPENDENCE

When Prince Milan Obrenovitch attained his majority he ascended the throne in 1872 and soon precipitated a war against the Turks, (1876-1878,) which resulted in annexation to Serbia of a few new districts. The Treaty of Berlin acknowledged Serbian independence, and in 1882 the principality of Serbia was proclaimed a kingdom. The unfortunate war against the Bulgarians, which was instigated by Austria, forced Milan to abdicate in favor of his 12-year-old son, Alexander, during whose minority the executive power was delegated to a regency under the leadership

VISCOUNT KIKUJIRO ISHII



The new Japanese Ambassador to the United States. He visited America in 1917 and concluded the Ishii-Lansing Agreement in regard to China
(Photo Paul Thompson)

VISCOUNT MOTONO



The Japanese Foreign Minister, who, with Premier Terauchi, conducted the negotiations leading to Japan's occupation of Siberia

of Ristitch. At the age of 16 Alexander deposed the regency by a well-premeditated and clever—though not honorable—coup d'état, (1893,) and in the following year he abrogated the Constitution of 1888 and restored that of 1869. In 1900, to the consternation of his friends, he married his former maitresse, Draga Mashin, under whose influence he entered upon a period of tyranny almost Neroian in type, thus alienating his people and his friends and playing into the hands of his own enemies, who finally murdered him in 1903.

The National Skupshtina immediately elected to the throne Prince Peter Kara-Georgevitch, the grandson of Kara George, who had spent a long life in exile and whose rule will mark the most important epoch in the entire history of Serbia and other Southern Slavonic provinces. Strictly constitutional, he gave carte blanche to his Cabinet, headed most of the time by Nicholas Pashitch, whom Serbia has to thank for averting war with Austria on more than one occasion. With the growth of trade and industry, for which Pashitch established a new and solid basis, Serbia's position of complete economic dependence on the openly hostile or extortionate markets of Austria-Hungary became more and more impossible, and, in order to obtain some relief from this thralldom, Pashitch concluded in 1906 a customs treaty with Bulgaria. To this Austria replied by a war of tariffs, the so-called "Pig War," swine remaining to this day one of the most important items of Serbia's export trade. The resulting economic crisis, which, however, was soon overcome by new routes to Egypt, France, and England, greatly embittered the Serbian peasantry against Austria-Hungary and indirectly led to a closer rapprochement with Russia.

HOSTILITY OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Still more hostile was the Dual Monarchy when she clearly saw that her policy of impoverishing her neighbors, for the purpose of crushing them with more ease, proved futile, as Serbia revised the old and concluded new treaties of commerce with almost all European countries and showed herself to be a fully grown member of the family of nations. Profiting

by the disorder caused in Turkey by the Young Turks, and bitterly opposed to the just aspirations of the Southern Slavs toward a union, Austria threw a bomb-shell among the European powers signatory of the Treaty of Berlin by annexing Bosnia-Herzegovina, which provinces of the Ottoman Empire she had administered for thirty years.

Serbia was in no mood to acquiesce, for all the Yugoslav provinces, notably Bosnia-Herzegovina, were conscious of their fundamental unity of race, language, and hopes with the Serbians and were looking to the free Kingdom of Serbia to lead them all toward independence as Piedmont had led the other Italian States in 1860. In the Balplatz the "chastising of Serbia" was even then openly discussed, and the casus belli was found in the forged reports of the notorious Count Forgach, then Austrian Minister in Belgrade. Russia was unprepared for war, and the pacific Pashitch found means to quiet warlike spirits in Serbia. An armed conflict was avoided then, but it was obvious that it was coming.

In the meantime the attention of all the Balkan States was directed to Macedonia, for under the Young Turkish régime things went from bad to worse, and the scandalous manner in which their authorities, aided by the criminal Bulgarian comitadji, were disarming the Christian population, excited Serbia and Greece to the highest degree.

BALKAN LEAGUE FORCES WAR

In July, 1912, the troubles of Turkey, already involved in war with Italy, were increased by a fierce rising of the Albanians. It was then that Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and later Greece, formed a league, known as the Balkan Alliance, and delivered to the Sublime Porte an ultimatum embodying the demand that autonomy should be granted to the European provinces under Ottoman rule. At the same time, on Sept. 30, 1912, they began to mobilize their forces. Turkey replied with similar measures. The powers at once made an ineffective attempt to intervene and urged patience on the Balkan Alliance, while a joint note

was presented to the Porte inviting the immediate discussion of reforms in Macedonia. But the Balkan allies, having determined not to be played with any longer, pushed events beyond the control of diplomacy, and, on Sept. 17, 1912, Turkey declared war on the allies. This event set the first spark to the world's powder magazine.

The Serbian forces totaled 333,000 men and were divided into four armies. While the first three armies were directed toward Skoplje (Uskub) the fourth was detailed to clear the Turks out of the Sanjak of Novibazar and to proceed to the assistance of Montenegro. The dominant battle of the entire campaign, in which the Ottoman forces were utterly crushed and the entire régime demoralized, took place on the field of Kumanovo before Uskub. In Albania the Serbians and the Montenegrins took Ljesh (Alesio) and Dratch, (Durazzo,) and in Macedonia the Serbian troops were successful in every battle, notably in those for Prilip, the birthplace of Serbia's national hero, Kraljevitch Marko, and Bitolj, (Monastir,) while the Bulgarians invested Adrianople, which finally fell into the hands of the allies, thanks to the powerful help (50,000 men and 104 siege guns) rendered by the Serbians, which was beyond the stipulations of the treaty.

UNJUST DIVISION OF TERRITORY

The London conference, hard pressed by the Austro-German menace, improvised, to suit the Teutons, a new political State (which had never in history existed as such) under the name of Albania. The Montenegrins were ordered by the powers of Europe to quit Scutari, and the Serbians to evacuate the dearly bought ports in the Adriatic, allowing to the latter only a commercial route to that sea. The results of the campaign had exceeded all the expectations of the Balkan allies, and the Serbo-Bulgarian treaty, having dealt exclusively with the question of Macedonia, had not foreseen the conquest of Thrace and Albania.

By that treaty the Bulgarians had bound themselves to help Serbia with 200,000 men in case of an Austrian attack, but that aid was not needed or given; on the contrary, it was Serbia who

assisted Bulgaria to secure Adrianople and Thrace, and who, in order to preserve the peace of Europe, abandoned Albania and her ports. The necessity for a revision of that treaty, therefore, was strongly felt, but Bulgaria absolutely refused to entertain the suggestion, exacting from Serbia the abandonment of the southern part of Macedonia as far as Monastir and the lakes, which had fallen to the Serbian arms, and demanding possession of Saloniki, which had been conquered by the Greeks. The Bulgarian Government even refused to submit, in accordance with the third article of the Secret Appendix of the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty of Alliance of 1912, the case for a final decision to Russia, but ordered a secret advance in the vile effort to murder in their sleep the Serbian armies on the night of June 29, 1913. But the ingenious Serbian General Putnik utterly routed the Bulgarian forces in the memorable battle of Bregalnitz. The Greeks also defeated the Bulgarian forces at Kilkich and Lahana, and finally the Rumanians made a parade-march, without firing a single shot, into the Bulgarian province of Dobrudja.

By the peace that was concluded in Bucharest, Serbia shared the Sanjak with Montenegro and retained Macedonia north of the Ochrida-Dorian line, with the promise of a railway outlet to the Adriatic. Civil rule and autonomy in local administration were granted to the Macedonian provinces by Pashitch. Having settled this point in a broad and generous spirit, Serbia gladly hung up her sword and prepared for a period of peace and recuperation.

But the defeat of the Sultan's forces in all parts of European Turkey had been a tremendous blow to Austria-Hungary, and still more to Germany, whose officers had reorganized and trained the Turkish Army, and who, for the success of her schemes of expansion in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, depended on her ascendancy in Constantinople. The defeat of Bulgaria, the Greek occupation of Saloniki—the possession of which was the ultimate aim of Austria—and the increased power of Serbia, the friend of Russia and the

apostle of South Slavic emancipation, constituted for the Teutons a still greater catastrophe.

GERMAN PLANS FRUSTRATED

Only prompt action could retrieve such a miscarrying of the Austro-German plans, and it is not surprising to hear that *already in the Summer of 1913 Austria was bent on declaring war on Serbia, and, massing secretly a huge army along the banks of the Danube and the Save*, she endeavored to secure the support of Italy. As this support was not forthcoming, action was deferred for the moment; but a large army bill was introduced in Germany to redress the balance of power and make ready for any eventuality.

Such was the position when on June 28, 1914, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Hapsburg throne, and his consort were murdered under mysterious circumstances in the streets of Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia, by two fanatic malcontents who were natives of Bosnia and Austrian subjects. Some hold that the perpetrators were in the pay of Belgrade, and others that the plan of the assassination was made in the Imperial Court in Vienna. On July 23 the Austro-Hungarian Minister in Belgrade handed to Pashitch a note to which a conciliatory answer was neither expected nor wanted, and which was regarded by the European powers as an impossible ultimatum, charging Serbia with fomenting a revolutionary propaganda within the territory of the Dual Monarchy. It was asserted, though no proof was given, that the Serajevo assassinations were planned, and the murderers even equipped with bombs, in Belgrade.

Among other unacceptable demands the Austro-Hungarian Government called upon the Serbian Government (Paragraph 4) "to remove from the army and the civil service a number of officers and officials guilty of anti-Austrian propaganda, whose names would be communicated by the Austrian Government"; furthermore, (Paragraph 6,) "to institute a judicial inquiry with regard to the accomplices in the plot of June 28, residing in Serbian territory, Austro-Hungarian delegates to take part in this in-

vestigation," &c. The French and the British Ambassadors and the Russian Chargé d'Affaires expressed indignation at the form, contents, and time limit (48 hours) of that note, and declared it to be unacceptable by any sovereign State in the world.

The Serbian Government unreservedly accepted all the demands of Austria-Hungary, except Paragraphs 5 and 6, and promised to revise those articles of the Serbian Constitution which stood in the way of these demands; at the same time it declared its readiness to refer any point either to The Hague Tribunal or to the powers that had taken part in the settlement of the controversy concerning the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Refusing the Serbian answer, the Austro-Hungarian Government declared war on Serbia July 28, 1914, and followed the act with a desultory bombardment of the defenseless City of Belgrade.

In spite of the assurances of the German Ambassador in Vienna that Russia, being unprepared, would remain passive, and that the war on Serbia would be a mere "punitive expedition," which would be ended before the powers could intervene, Austria awoke to the startling fact that Russia was beginning to move. On July 31 Vienna consented to eliminate from the ultimatum those demands which involved the violation of the sovereignty of Serbia. It was too late. Germany, having jockeyed Austria into a position from which there was no escape, declared war on Russia the next day.

SERBIA REPELS INVASION

The Serbian Army was entirely unprepared for this war, for little or none of the wastage in the Balkan wars had as yet been made good, and the orders placed abroad for cannon, rifles, munitions, clothes, and stores had not yet been filled. However, not before Aug. 12 did the Austro-Hungarian troops (80,000 strong) make a definite invasion at Loznitza and Leshnitza, but Voivoda Putnik met them in the Tzer Mountains and routed them completely at Belikamen. Aug. 19 was the decisive day of the struggle, and by the 23d the Serbian

armies hurled what was left of the Austrians, after the battle of Jadar, back across the Drina River. As a result of their attempt to "chastise" Serbia the Austrians had lost 8,000 dead, 4,000 prisoners, and about 30,000 wounded.

The cruelties which the Magyars and other Austrians committed on the non-combatant population in Serbia in this and their subsequent retreats are beyond description. Their shameful and vile treatment of the Serbian women can only be hinted at here; the final act of murder was regarded as a crowning mercy. This will undoubtedly form the blackest page of shame in the entire history of mankind.

Having made good their losses, the Austrians advanced again with a fresh army of 250 battalions of infantry and numerous guns, and took Suvobor Mountain by surprise. Retreat on the part of the Serbians was imperative on account of the lack of munitions, for there were whole batteries of guns which were reduced to six rounds apiece. But when the long-expected ammunition arrived, about Dec. 23, the Serbians rapidly retook the line Lazarevatz-Valjevo-Uzhitze, and the enemy was hurled back across the Drina in the greatest disorder. Belgrade, which had been evacuated by the Serbians, soon fell a victim to the violent artillery fire from the surrounding hills. The Austrians left behind in Serbia 40,000 prisoners and hundreds of guns, together with the transports and stores of a vast army.

Almost the whole of the next year passed in comparative quietness. This gave a chance to the Serbians to make good their own losses and to rest for fresh struggles.

THE ENTENTE'S FATAL ERROR

After having sustained such heavy losses without achieving any results, Austria-Hungary stood for a long time pondering a fresh manner of "chastising" Serbia, but she realized that only with an army of close on half a million men could she hope to effect her presumptive plan. The Serbian General Staff was well aware of the fact that Austria would gravely compromise her military operations in Galicia if she were

to detach from that front such a considerable force, and, upon the receipt of information from Pashitch to the effect that the Bulgarians were eagerly making preparations for war, kept a watchful eye on the southern frontiers.

The Entente diplomats in Sofia, incredible as it may seem, failed to discover what was going on before their very eyes, and misinformed their respective Governments of certain possibilities for the formation of a new Balkan alliance. But Pashitch knew better. Accordingly, he informed Sir Edward Grey of the great danger of a Bulgarian surprise attack on the Serbian rear, and, so we are informed, a free and timely action of the Serbian forces against the Bulgarians was then urgently demanded. But the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was firmly convinced that the Bulgarians were preparing for a joint action with other Balkan powers against the Teutons, for he did not know that a secret treaty of alliance together with a military convention had been made between Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria as early as 1908, on the occasion of the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the declaration of Bulgarian independence. Still less did he know that, just at the time when Pashitch informed him of the Bulgarian duplicity, this Austro-Bulgarian treaty was being renewed and amended.

Had Serbia been allowed then to attack Bulgaria single-handed the Balkan situation would today be different from what it is. But Germany, intoxicated with Hindenburg's success in Russia during the Summer of 1915, turned all her attention to the important Balkan front, and, realizing the absolute incompetence of the Austro-Hungarian armies to achieve any results against the tough Serbians, dispatched one of her best Generals, Mackensen, at the head of a huge army, which opened, on Sept. 19, a fierce bombardment of the Serbian front, outranging the Serbian best artillery by several miles.

This was a signal for Bulgaria to stab Serbia in the back. Already in deadly grips on the north and fully realizing now the true objective of the Bulgarian mobili-



SERBIA IN ITS RELATION TO SURROUNDING STATES. THE HEAVY LINE INDICATES THE SOUTH SLAVIC PEOPLES WHO DESIRE TO UNITE, FORMING THE NEW STATE OF JUGOSLAVIA

zation, the Serbian General Staff saw itself in a dangerous position; for the Bulgar armies were threatening to cut off Serbia's only artery—the Nish-Saloniki railway line. Accordingly Voivoda Putnik decided upon a prompt and energetic drive to the southern front; if not to defeat the well-rested and equipped Bulgarian armies, then at least to hamper and delay their advance until the long-promised relief should come from Britain, France, and Russia. To oppose the combined Austro-German forces, consisting of 164 battalions, Putnik could not afford to concentrate more than 116 battalions, composed partly of the third ban.

After seven days (from Oct. 6 to 13) of bloody battles which took place at Belgrade, Semendria, Obrenovatz, and Ostruzhnitz, and in which the enemy suffered enormous losses, the Bulgarian forces, consisting of 176 battalions of infantry, hurriedly began their favorite tactics of stabbing in the back. In this supreme moment Putnik met on the banks of the River Timok with only seventy-eight battalions the overwhelming Bulgarian forces, and offered such a stubborn resistance that for twelve days (Oct. 13-24 inclusive) the Bulgarians advanced only by steps, paying for each step with

the bloodiest losses ever known, so that, at the time when the Germans penetrated quite deeply to the south, and when an immediate evacuation of Negotin, Zayetchar, and Kniazhevatz became absolutely imperative, the Serbians and the Bulgarians had well-nigh equal forces.

THE DEFENDERS OVERWHELMED

Partly because the plans of the Serbian General Staff had been seriously affected by the promised but never forthcoming help from Saloniki and by the betrayal of Serbia's ally, Greece, and partly because the German advance became altogether irresistible, the main Serbian forces began beating a retreat toward Kossovo Polje. A detachment of those armies offered a desperate battle to the Bulgarians at the romantic Pass Katchanik, in which the outnumbering Bulgarian forces were all but crushed. However, the Serbian armies, too, suffered considerable losses and soon were reduced to one against ten. It was on the memorable field of Kossovo (where the Serbians had lost their empire in a bloody battle against the Turks in 1389) that they realized that history was repeating itself and that their doom was once more sealed.

The Serbians had to choose between a shameful separate peace and a monstrous retreat through the almost impenetrable Albanian mountains toward Scutari and Durazzo. They decided for the latter. This, however, could not be called the retreat of an army, but the last act of a tragedy involving a whole nation of honest and brave soil tillers. Heavy pieces of artillery were hurled down precipices from the mountain summits, other war material was destroyed, and the exodus of the people began amid indescribable horrors. There were absolutely no supplies. Only a few Serbians reached the Albanian ports, where British ships, loaded with conserved food, were awaiting them. Those who ate of the food naturally did so in a voracious manner, and, after such opulent meals, exhausted as they were, they went to sleep, but never to wake again. But the Serbian spirit was not crushed. Those who traversed the Adriatic to the Greek island of Corfu held high the national flags and the Serbian honor enveloped in them.

Many thousands of Serbian noncombatants took refuge in Greece; thence they were invited to France, England, and Italy. Serbian boys and girls found open doors of English and French schools in which they are preparing themselves to rebuild their devastated country and thank their hospitable hosts.

THE DECLARATION OF CORFU

The Serbian Government and the Skupshtina settled in Corfu and the Yugoslav Committee, consisting of Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian refugees, transferred its headquarters from Rome to London. On July 20, 1917, Mr. Pashitch, as the Premier of Serbia, and Mr. Trumbitch, as the President of the Yugoslav Committee, signed a document known as the "Declaration of Corfu," which was published in *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* for September, 1917, and whose first and last paragraphs are as follows:

1. The State of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, who are also known by the name of Southern Slavs or Yugoslavs, will be a free and independent kingdom, with an indivisible territory and unity of power. This State will be a constitutional, democratic, and parliamentary monarchy, with

the Kara-Georgevitch dynasty, which has always shared the ideals and feelings of the nation in placing above everything else the national liberty and will, at its head. * * *

13. The Constitution to be established after the conclusion of peace by the Constituent Assembly elected by universal, direct, and secret suffrage will serve as a basis for the life of the State. It will be the origin and ultimate end of all the powers and all rights by which the whole national life will be regulated. The Constitution will give the people the opportunity of exercising its particular energies in local autonomies, regulated by natural, social, and economic conditions. The Constitution must be adopted in its entirety by a numerical majority of the Constituent Assembly, and all other laws passed by the Constituent Assembly will not come into force until they have been sanctioned by the King. Thus the united nation of Serbians, Croatsians, and Slovenians will form a State of 12,000,000 inhabitants. This State will be a guarantee of their national independence and of their general national progress and civilization, and a powerful rampart against the pressure of the Germans, and an inseparable ally of all civilized peoples and States. Having proclaimed the principle of right and liberty and of international justice, it will form a worthy part of the new society of nations.

Yet the recent speeches pronounced by Lloyd George and President Wilson differ, alas! diametrically from the above declaration. Serbia's mighty allies would allow the savages in Africa to choose the sovereignty to which they wish to submit, but not the Slavs under Austria's heel!

FIGHTING FOR JUGOSLAVIA

The Yugoslav Committee has its branches in the several capitals of Serbia's allies, and they are acting in agreement with the Serbian legations. Its main purpose is to acquaint the allied Governments and peoples with the just aspirations and hopes of the Serbians, Croatsians, and Slovenes, who are, in true essence, one and the same people with three names.

The remnants of the Serbian Army, after having been reorganized and equipped at Corfu, went to the Saloniki front toward the end of 1916, and in cooperation with the allied armies there took by storm the City of Bitol (Monastir) and the whole district surrounding

it. This victory cost the Serbians many thousands of lives, but it secured for them a nucleus for their future independent state. The Serbian officers displayed especially a reckless bravery, but many hundreds of them perished—the present writer's brother, Captain Borisav M. Petrovitch, being included in the number.

In the hospitable United States there

are about 700,000 Jugoslavs, and many of these have volunteered upon the invitation of Lieut. Col. Milan Pribitchevitch, whom the Serbian Government has sent here for that purpose. Many thousands have already gone to the Serbian training camps, whence they will supply the vacancies of those who fall in an eventual drive on the Balkan front.

Italy's Rescue of the Serbian Army

A Chapter in the War Record of the Italian Navy

[Semi-official narrative, translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from the Italian]

MR. BALFOUR said in the House of Commons on Feb. 23, 1916: "The best proof of the success of the maritime operations of the Allies in the Mediterranean is furnished by the transporting of a large army to Saloniki, the carrying of the expeditionary force to the Dardanelles, and the transporting of the Serbian Army. This success is due above all to the energetic efficiency of the Italian Navy." Mr. Balfour's statement was made on the very day of the announcement that the rescue of the shattered Serbian Army had been successfully completed by the naval forces of Italy.

The transformation of Brindisi into a military port of the first order and the creation of the naval base at Valona, on the other side of the Adriatic, afford a fair measure of the strenuous labors of those two years, thanks to which more than 300,000 persons were enabled to cross the Adriatic in safety between December, 1915, and February, 1916, notwithstanding the adverse conditions and the continuous menace of the enemy in the air and under the waves.

A brief official bulletin at that time announced that 300,000 men had been successfully transported together with an equal number of quintals [a quintal is 220 pounds] of war materials and many thousands of animals; it mentioned also a concerted movement of 100 steamships and nineteen attacks by hostile submarines. One must read between the lines to realize the enormous labor

of organization and preparation that made it possible for so great an enterprise to be carried out without a single grave accident and without the loss of one Serbian soldier at sea.

BALKAN FOOD CRISIS

It is not generally known that the Italian Navy's great work of assistance to the Serbian Army began when, under the pressure of Mackensen's devastating forces, the last divisions of King Peter in their retreat drove toward the Albanian coast the Austrian prisoners they had captured in happier days; and that even then for many months the Serbo-Montenegrin Army had owed its supplies of food and materials to the ability, tenacity, and enthusiasm of Italian sailors.

By the end of October, 1915, the food crisis in Serbia and Montenegro had become so grave as to cause serious concern to the Entente Powers. France, England, and Italy undertook to supply those countries with a large quantity of foodstuffs, and upon the Italian Navy devolved the whole task of transporting these supplies to the Montenegrin and Albanian coasts.

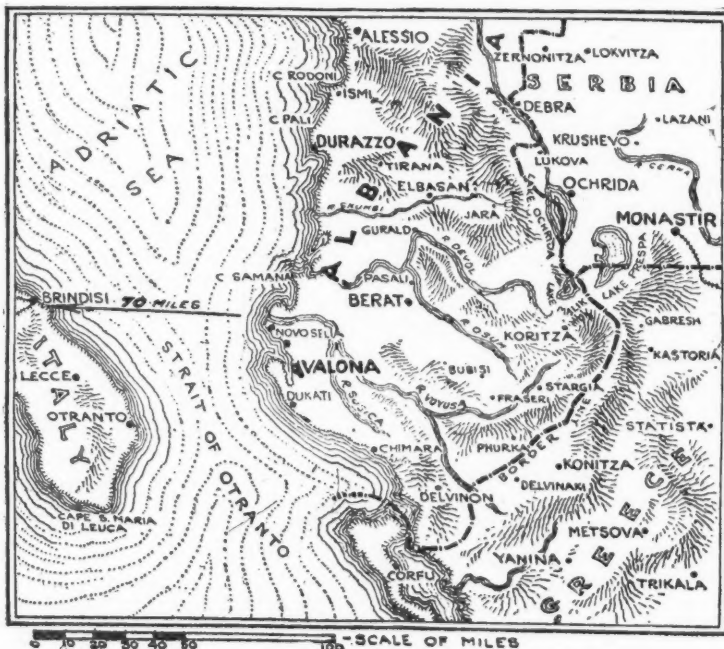
The Austro-Bulgarian-German campaign against Serbia and the successive invasions of Serbian and Montenegrin territory caused a material change in the military situation in the Adriatic. Effective resistance by the Serbian Army in Albania was seen to be impossible, and it became imperatively neces-

sary to do something to save that army from being surrounded and captured. To France and Great Britain fell the task of preventing the enemy from reaching the Aegean Sea at Saloniki; to Italy that of preventing Austria from seizing Valona, (or Avlona,) the key of the Adriatic. Saloniki and Valona, indeed, were to constitute the two jaws of the pincers that gripped and held the invading Teutonic armies, the two keys to the future safety of the Balkans.

Italy thus found herself unexpectedly compelled to extend her modest occupation of Valona into a great military movement on the further shore of the Adriatic, engrossing the energies of the greater part of her naval forces.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE TASK

Overseas operations at best are full of risks and difficulties, but these become almost insuperable in a narrow sea shaped as is the Lower Adriatic. It is usually said that the Strait of Otranto is to the Adriatic what the English Channel is to the North Sea; but if England met with difficulties and sacrifices in transporting her army to France, the Italian Navy, in transporting the Italian Army to Valona, encountered still graver obstacles. While the English Channel at its narrowest has only twenty-four miles of comparatively shallow water, the Strait of Otranto has forty miles that must be guarded, with water 3,000 feet deep, in which the methods employed in the English Channel cannot be used. To



SCENE OF ITALY'S CHIEF NAVAL OPERATIONS IN THE ADRIATIC AND ALONG THE ALBANIAN COAST

this must be added the nearness of the Austrian naval base at Cattaro and the menace of the further shore as a lurking place and supply station for enemy submarines. Furthermore, while the British debark in ports and territory prepared for war, where they can find all the facilities necessary for an overseas force, the Italians had to create everything de novo at the place of debarkation.

The first necessity, in fact, was to establish a real naval base at Valona. The world knows little of the incessant and feverish yet orderly labor which the Italian Navy has devoted to that task. * * * In the new whirlpool of life which the war has set in motion at Valona the Albanian population today takes its part, aroused out of its indolence and lethargy. The hygienic regeneration of the country is now almost completed—a marvelous work of Italian betterment, for which much of the credit belongs to the Sanitary Mission of the Italian Navy, which, landing at Valona on Oct. 30, 1914, to aid the refugees who had fled from Epirus to escape massacre at the

hands of Greek bands, was destined later to relieve so much suffering and heal so many wounds during the Serbian tragedy.

THE FIRST UNFORTUNATES

When the navy was still in the midst of its feverish preparations against enemy attacks from sky and sea, suddenly there arrived at the coast, from the interior of Serbia, across the Albanian Mountains, the first columns of Austrian prisoners, conducted in two directions—toward Valona and toward Durazzo. With the agony of that first pitiful vanguard there already hung over the Albanian coast the incubus of an unspeakable tragedy, one of the most frightful that history has known; and the great work of the Italian surgeons and nurses began with the succor given to the wretched enemy prisoners.

For the rescue of this first mass of unfortunates, still bleeding from their atrocious sufferings, as well as for the safety of the troops and of the Serbian refugees who were to follow, it was important that the still temporary defenses of the Bay of Durazzo should immediately be made secure. Therefore, to unify the task of the fleet, Italy undertook to send thither—along with another sanitary mission of the navy—5,000 soldiers intrusted with the protection of the Serbians' retreat.

Thus Durazzo and Valona were the points of concentration where, along with the humanitarian work for the Austrian prisoners, the embarkation of the Serbian Army took place; they were the arteries through which new blood could flow into the veins of thousands and thousands of fighters who, beaten down for the moment by the enemy's aggression, were to rise again to faith and effectiveness. Spread like a flood along the coast, exhausted and hungry, they all begged to be taken away on the Italian ships. But the vessels could not contain so great a cargo of humanity at one time, and many had to camp for days under the open sky, exposed to the cold and rain, living amid confusion of household goods, where costly fur coats and luxurious portmanteaus, now as dilapidated as a peasant's sack, rendered still

sadder with their irony the memory of lost comforts. The Italian officers and sailors distributed food and clothing among these people and superintended their embarkation with tireless care, often under airplane attacks; they lighted their first fires, built their first shelters, prepared boats to carry the seriously ill to hospital ships; and from Brindisi went convoys laden with food and medicines to be exchanged later for more precious cargoes of men full of new blood and ready to fight the battles of tomorrow.

HEROIC HOSPITAL WORKERS

But very many, too many, were the sick and wounded who had to be nursed back to life and health by the heroic Italian surgeons and nurses. Owing to the great number of sufferers, the work in that first period had to be limited to their more immediate needs—washing, disinfection, medical treatment—seeking to isolate the infected in order to protect the helpers from epidemic contagion. Dysentery, typhus, and cholera, which had raged among these derelicts during their flight, threatened to spread from the Durazzo coast to Valona and thence to Brindisi.

During January and the first half of February, 1916, most of the Serbian troops gathered at Durazzo, where the Sanitary Mission of the Italian Navy, landing with the troops, attended to the first treatments and disinfection. From there the weakest and most seriously ill were embarked on the smaller hospital ships and steamers, to be carried to Valona; the stronger soldiers went to Valona on foot, making the journey by stages, and leaving those who could not endure the strain at the various rest camps and hospitals along the route, especially at the passage of the Skumbi and Semeni Rivers.

At Valona those who arrived by sea were at once transferred to large steamers, which carried them to Corfu and Biserta; the rest were brought together in the camp at Arta, on a sandy plain north of the city, the best place for isolation, with plenty of water. Here many hospital barracks had already been built, and the whole place was gradually filled with a vast encampment. At the end of

February detachments of Serbians were still arriving at Valona from Durazzo and from Elbassan, where the last rear-guard had fought the enemy with its last cartridges, a desperate resistance, in which, with forty-four cannon, a few wagons, mules and horses, and a great number of sick and wounded, it had fairly surpassed itself. It was like the last wave of blood, the largest and worst. At that time there arrived at the Campo d'Arta in a few days more than 12,000 Serbians and as many horses, making the task of assistance still more arduous.

DEFINITE FIGURES

For the transport of the whole Serbian Army and of the refugees and prisoners from Durazzo and San Giovanni di Medua to Valona and to Corfu, a vast movement of steamers of every tonnage—mostly Italian ships—under the protection of cruisers, destroyers, torpedo boats, and motor boats of the Italian Navy, was carried on for three successive months, principally on the triangular routes of Brindisi-Durazzo-Valona and Brindisi-Valona-Corfu.

From Dec. 12, 1915, to Feb. 22, 1916, a total of 11,651 Serbian sick, wounded, and refugees were embarked and transported to Brindisi, Lipari, Marseilles, and Biserta; 130,841 Serbian infantry soldiers to Corfu, and 4,100 to Biserta. In this work there were employed six large Italian transatlantic liners, two French auxiliary cruisers, six hospital ships, (five Italian, one French,) two small Italian ambulance ships, thirty-four medium or small sized steamers and auxiliary craft, (fifteen Italian, fifteen French, four English;) in all, twenty-eight Italian, seventeen French, and five English vessels. The voyages from San Giovanni di Medua, Durazzo, and Foci della Vojussa to Valona numbered 216, besides some directly to Corfu and others to Brindisi, Lipari, Marseilles, and Biserta. The Serbian cavalry—13,068 men and 10,153 horses—were transported from Valona to Corfu in March, 1916, by

six large steamers, each making seventeen trips.

There were 22,928 Austrian prisoners, (there had been 70,000 when they started from Nish!) and the work of transporting these from Valona to the Asinara lasted from Dec. 16, 1915, to Feb. 12, 1916, and required thirteen trips of a fleet of fourteen steamers. There was a violent outbreak of cholera on the Italian steamships *Re Vittorio* and *Cordova*, each of which had on board 5,000 dead, including a large proportion of the ship's own crew.

For the victualing and care of the Serbian refugees and soldiers camped upon the Albanian coast awaiting embarkation from Jan. 19, 1915, to Feb. 22, 1916, there were employed twenty-four steamers, which made seventy-three trips and landed 22,000 tons of food, forage, and medicines.

These figures relate solely to the transport of the Serbians, and have nothing to do with the traffic to supply the navy or with the vast movement of men and materials for the Italian army of occupation in Albania, which was going on at the same time, and through the same ports.

The convoys were planned by the high command of the Italian Navy on the best modern lines. The successful transporting of the Serbians across the Adriatic and Ionian Seas, the waters most infested by Austrian submarines and German mines, was the first practical demonstration of the effectiveness of convoys against submarine attacks; this was confirmed later by the transport of the rehabilitated Serbian Army from Corfu to Saloniki, whence it went north to resume its place on the fighting front in Macedonia. The Austrian submarines made nineteen attacks in all against the convoyed fleet that carried the Serbians to Corfu, but in every case the torpedo missed its mark, and the escorting squadron of Italian warships, by going in swift pursuit with shells and bombs, prevented a renewal of the attack.

THE JERUSALEM CAMPAIGN

General Allenby's Official Account of Operations That Led to the Capture of the Holy City

General E. H. H. Allenby, commander of the Egyptian expeditionary force, submitted to the British War Secretary (Lord Derby) a dispatch published Jan. 25, 1918, in which he described in official detail the operations which had culminated in the surrender of Jerusalem on Dec. 9, 1917. In the appended text, here presented in full, General Allenby describes the picturesque and brilliant campaign that crowned the two years' labors of the Egyptian column with success.

Siege of Gaza to Fall of Jerusalem

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,
EGYPTIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE,
Dec. 16, 1917.

MY LORD: I have the honor to submit a report on the operations of the force serving in Egypt and Palestine since June 28, 1917, the date on which I assumed command.

1. When I took over the command of the Egyptian expeditionary force at the end of June, 1917, I had received instructions to report on the conditions in which offensive operations against the Turkish Army on the Palestine front might be undertaken in the Autumn or Winter of 1917.

After visiting the front and consulting with the commander of the eastern force, I submitted my appreciation and proposals in a telegram dispatched in the second week of July.

2. The main features of the situation on the Palestine front were then as follows:

The Turkish Army in Southern Palestine held a strong position extending from the sea at Gaza, roughly along the main Gaza-Beersheba road to Beersheba. Gaza had been made into a strong modern fortress, heavily intrenched and wired, offering every facility for protracted defense. The remainder of the enemy's line consisted of a series of strong localities, viz., the Sihan group of works, the Atawineh group, the Baha group, the Abu Hareira-Arab el Teeaha

trench system, and, finally, the works covering Beersheba. These groups of works were generally from 1,500 to 2,000 yards apart, except that the distance



GEN. SIR EDMUND H. H. ALLENBY

from the Hareira group to Beersheba was about four and a half miles.

The enemy's force was on a wide front, the distance from Gaza to Beersheba being about thirty miles; but his lateral communications were good, and any threatened point of the line could be very quickly reinforced.

My force was extended on a front of twenty-two miles, from the sea, opposite Gaza, to Gamli.

Owing to lack of water I was unable, without preparations which would require some considerable time, to approach within striking distance of the enemy, except in the small sector near the seacoast opposite Gaza.

Preparatory Measures

3. My proposals received the approval of the War Cabinet, and preparations were undertaken to enable the plan I had formed to be put into execution.

I had decided to strike the main blow against the left flank of the main Turkish position, Hareira and Sheria. The capture of Beersheba was a necessary preliminary to this operation, in order to secure the water supplies at that place and to give room for the deployment of the attacking force on the high ground to the north and northwest of Beersheba, from which direction I intended to attack the Hareira-Sheria line.

This front of attack was chosen for the following reasons: The enemy's works in this sector were less formidable than elsewhere, and they were easier of approach than other parts of the enemy's defenses. When Beersheba was in our hands we should have an open flank against which to operate, and I could make full use of our superiority in mounted troops; and a success here offered prospects of pursuing our advantage and forcing the enemy to abandon the rest of his fortified positions, which no other line of attack would afford.

It was important, in order to keep the enemy in doubt up to the last moment as to the real point of attack, that an attack should also be made on the enemy's right at Gaza in conjunction with the main operations. One of my commanders was therefore ordered to prepare a scheme for operations against Gaza on as large a scale as the force at his disposal would permit. I also asked the Senior Naval Officer, Egypt, Rear Admiral T. Jackson, C. B., M. V. O., to afford me naval co-operation by bombarding the Gaza defenses and the enemy's railway stations and depots north of Gaza. Rear Admiral Jackson afforded me cordial assistance, and during the period of preparation naval officers worked in the closest co-operation with my staff at General Headquarters and the staff of the G. O. C. troops operating in that region.

Difficulties to be Overcome

4. The difficulties to be overcome in the operations against Beersheba and the Sheria-Hareira line were considerable, and careful preparations and training were necessary. The chief difficulties were those of water and transport, and arrangements had to be made to insure that the troops could be kept supplied with water while operating at considerable distances from their original

water base for a period which might amount to a week or more; for, though it was known that an ample supply of water existed at Beersheba, it was uncertain how quickly it could be developed or to what extent the enemy would have damaged the wells before we succeeded in occupying the town. Except at Beersheba, no large supply of water would be found till Sheria and Hareira had been captured.

The transport problem was no less difficult; there were no good roads south of the line Gaza-Beersheba, and no reliance could therefore be placed on the use of motor transport. Owing to the steep banks of many of the wadis which intersected the area of operations, the routes passable by wheeled transport were limited, and the going was heavy and difficult in many places. Practically the whole of the transport available in the force, including 30,000 pack camels, had to be allotted to one portion of the eastern force to enable it to be kept supplied with food, water, and ammunition at a distance of fifteen to twenty miles in advance of railhead. Arrangements were also made for railhead to be pushed forward as rapidly as possible toward Karm, and for a line to be laid from Gamli toward Beersheba for the transport of ammunition.

A railway line was also laid from Deir el Belah to the Wadi Ghuzze, close behind the sector held by another portion of the eastern force.

Considerable strain was thrown on the military railway from Kantara to the front during the period of preparation. In addition to the normal requirements of the force, a number of siege and heavy batteries, besides other artillery and units, had to be moved to the front, and large depots of supplies, ammunition, and other stores accumulated at the various railheads. Preparations had also to be made and the necessary material accumulated to push forward the lines from Deir el Belah and Shellal.

Enemy's Strong Position

5. During the period from July to October the enemy's force on the Palestine front had been increased. It was evident, from the arrival of these reinforcements and the construction of railway extensions from El Tine, on the Ramleh-Beersheba railway, to Deir Sineid and Beit Hanun, north of Gaza, and from Deir Sineid to Huj, and from reports of the transport of large supplies of ammunition and other stores to the Palestine front, that the enemy was determined to make every effort to maintain his position on the Gaza-Beersheba line. He had considerably strengthened his defenses on this line, and the strong localities mentioned in Paragraph 2 had, by the end of October, been joined up to form a practically continuous line from the sea to a point south of Sheria, except for a gap between Ali Muntar and the Sihan group. The defensive works round



REGION OF PALESTINE TAKEN BY GENERAL ALLENBY'S FORCES IN THE MARCH FROM GAZA TO JERUSALEM AND BEYOND

Beersheba remained a detached system, but had been improved and extended.

6. The date of the attack on Beersheba, which was to commence the operations, was fixed as Oct. 31. Work had been begun on the railway from Shellal toward Karm, and on the line from Gamli to El Buggar. The development of water at Ecani, Khalasa, and Asluj proceeded satisfactorily. These last two places were to be the starting point for the mounted force detailed to make a wide flanking movement and attack Beersheba from the east and northeast.

On the morning of Oct. 27 the Turks made a strong reconnoissance toward Karm from the direction of Kauwukah, two regiments of cavalry and two or three thousand infantry, with guns, being employed. They attacked a line of outposts near El Girheir, held by some yeomanry, covering railway construction. One small post was rushed and

cut up, but not before inflicting heavy loss on the enemy; another post, though surrounded, held out all day, and also caused the enemy heavy loss. The gallant resistance made by the yeomanry enabled the 53d (Welsh) Division to come up in time, and on their advance the Turks withdrew.

The bombardment of the Gaza defenses commenced on Oct. 27, and on Oct. 30 warships of the royal navy, assisted by a French battleship, began co-operating in this bombardment.

Beersheba Captured

7. On the evening of Oct. 30 the portion of the eastern force which was to make the attack on Beersheba was concentrated in positions of readiness for the night march to its positions of deployment.

8. The night march to the positions of deployment was successfully carried out, all

units reaching their appointed positions up to time.

The plan was to attack the hostile works between the Khalasa road and the Wadi Saba with two divisions, masking the works north of the Wadi Saba with the Imperial Camel Corps and some infantry, while a portion of the 53d (Welsh) Division further north covered the left of the corps. The right of the attack was covered by a cavalry regiment. Further east, mounted troops took up a line opposite the southern defenses of Beersheba.

As a preliminary to the main attack, in order to enable field guns to be brought within effective range for wire cutting, the enemy's advanced works at 1,070 were to be taken. This was successfully accomplished at 8:45 A. M., after a short preliminary bombardment, by London troops, with small loss, ninety prisoners being taken. The cutting of the wire on the main line then proceeded satisfactorily, though pauses had to be made to allow the dust to clear; and the final assault was ordered for 12:15 P. M. It was successful all along the front attacked, and by about 1 P. M. the whole of the works between the Khalasa road and the Wadi Saba were in our hands.

Some delay occurred in ascertaining whether the enemy still occupied the works north of the road; it was decided, as they were still held by small parties, to attack them from the south. After a preliminary bombardment the works were occupied with little opposition by about 7:30 P. M.

The casualties were light, considering the strength of the works attacked; a large proportion occurred during the advance toward the positions previous to the assault, the hostile guns being very accurate and very difficult to locate.

Meanwhile, the mounted troops, after a night march, for part of the force of twenty-five and for the remainder of thirty-five miles, arrived early in the morning of the 31st about Khasim Zanna, in the hills some five miles east of Beersheba. From the hills the advance into Beersheba from the east and northeast lies over an open and almost flat plain, commanded by the rising ground north of the town and flanked by an underfeature in the Wadi Saba called Tel el Saba.

A force was sent north to secure Bir es Sakaty, on the Hebron road, and protect the right flank. This force met with some opposition and was engaged with hostile cavalry at Bir es Sakaty and to the north during the day. Tel el Saba was found strongly held by the enemy and was not captured till late in the afternoon.

Meanwhile, attempts to advance in small parties across the plain toward the town made slow progress. In the evening, however, a mounted attack by Australian light horse, who rode straight at the town from the east, proved completely successful. They galloped over two deep trenches held by the

enemy just outside the town and entered the town at about 7 P. M., capturing numerous prisoners.

The Turks at Beersheba were undoubtedly taken completely by surprise, a surprise from which the dash of London troops and yeomanry, finely supported by their artillery, never gave them time to recover. The charge of the Australian light horse completed their defeat.

A very strong position was thus taken with slight loss, and the Turkish detachment at Beersheba almost completely put out of action. About 2,000 prisoners and thirteen guns were taken, and some 500 Turkish corpses were buried on the battlefield. This success laid open the left flank of the main Turkish position for a decisive blow.

Hard Fighting at Gaza

9. The actual date of the attack at Gaza had been left open till the result of the attack at Beersheba was known, as it was intended that the former attack, which was designed to draw hostile reserves toward the Gaza sector, should take place twenty-four to forty-eight hours previous to the attack on the Sheria position. After the complete success of the Beersheba operations, and as the early reports indicated that an ample supply of water would be available at that place, it was hoped that it would be possible to attack Sheria by Nov. 3 or 4. The attack on Gaza was accordingly ordered to take place on the morning of Nov. 2. Later reports showed that the water situation was less favorable than had been hoped, but it was decided not to postpone the attack.

The objectives of this attack were the hostile works from Umbrella Hill (2,000 yards southwest of the town) to Sheikh Hasan, on the sea, (about 2,500 yards northwest of the town.) The front of the attack was about 6,000 yards, and Sheikh Hasan, the furthest objective, was over 3,000 yards from our front line. The ground over which the attack took place consisted of sand dunes, rising in places up to 150 feet in height. This sand is very deep and heavy going. The enemy's defenses consisted of several lines of strongly built trenches and redoubts.

As Umbrella Hill flanked the advance against the Turkish works further west, it was decided to capture it by a preliminary operation, to take place four hours previous to the main attack. It was accordingly attacked and captured at 11 P. M. on Nov. 1 by a portion of the 52d (Lowland) Division. This attack drew a heavy bombardment of Umbrella Hill itself and our front lines, which lasted for two hours, but ceased in time to allow the main attack, which was timed for 3 A. M., to form up without interference.

It had been decided to make the attack before daylight, owing to the distance to be covered between our front trenches and the enemy's position.

Turks Suffer Heavy Losses

The attack was successful in reaching all objectives, except for a section of trench on the left and some of the final objectives in the centre. Four hundred and fifty prisoners were taken and many Turks killed. The enemy also suffered heavily from the preliminary bombardment, and subsequent reports from prisoners stated that one of the divisions holding the Gaza sector was withdrawn after losing 33 per cent. of its effectives, one of the divisions in general reserve being drawn into the Gaza sector to replace it. The attack thus succeeded in its primary object, which was to prevent any units being drawn from the Gaza defenses to meet the threat to the Turkish left flank, and to draw into Gaza as large a proportion as possible of the available Turkish reserves. Further, the capture of Sheik Hasan and the southwestern defenses constituted a very distinct threat to the whole of the Gaza position, which could be developed on any sign of a withdrawal on the part of the enemy.

Our losses, though considerable, were not in any way disproportionate to the result obtained.

10. Meanwhile, on our right flank the water and transport difficulties were found to be greater than anticipated, and the preparations for the second phase of the attack were somewhat delayed in consequence.

In the early morning of Nov. 1 the 53d (Welsh) Division, with the Imperial Camel Corps on its right, had moved out into the hills north of Beersheba, with the object of securing the flank of the attack on Sheria. Mounted troops were also sent north along the Hebron road to secure Dhaheiriyeh if possible, as it was hoped that a good supply of water would be found in this area and that a motor road which the Turks were reported to have constructed from Dhaheiriyeh to Sheria could be secured for our use.

The 53d (Welsh) Division, after a long march, took up a position from Towal Abu Jerwal (six miles north of Beersheba) to Muweileh, (four miles northeast of Abu Irgeig.) Irish troops occupied Abu Irgeig the same day.

On Nov. 3 we advanced north on Ain Kohleh and Tel Khuweilfeh, near which place the mounted troops had engaged considerable enemy forces on the previous day. This advance was strongly opposed, but was pushed on through difficult hill country to within a short distance of Ain Kohleh and Khuweilfeh. At these places the enemy was found holding a strong position with considerable and increasing forces. He was obviously determined not only to bar any further progress in this direction, but, if possible, to drive our flank guard back on Beersheba. During the 4th and 5th he made several determined attacks on the mounted troops. These attacks were repulsed.

By the evening of Nov. 5 the 19th Turkish Division, the remains of the 27th, and certain units of the 16th Division had been identified in the fighting round Tel el Khuweilfeh, and it was also fairly clear that the greater part of the hostile cavalry, supported apparently by some infantry ("depot" troops) from Hebron, were engaged between Khuweilfeh and the Hebron road.

Enemy's Counterstroke Defeated

The action of the enemy in thus employing the whole of his available reserves in an immediate counterstroke so far to the east was apparently a bold effort to induce me to make essential alterations in my offensive plan, thereby gaining time and disorganizing my arrangements. The country north of Beersheba was exceedingly rough and hilly, and very little water was to be found there. Had the enemy succeeded in drawing considerable forces against him in that area the result might easily have been an indecisive fight (for the terrain was very suitable to his methods of defense) and my own main striking force would probably have been made too weak effectively to break the enemy's centre in the neighborhood of Sheria-Hareira. This might have resulted in our gaining Beersheba, but failing to do more—in which case Beersheba would only have been an incubus of a most inconvenient kind. However, the enemy's action was not allowed to make any essential modification to the original plan, which it had been decided to carry out at dawn on Nov. 6.

By the evening of Nov. 5 all preparations had been made to attack the Kauwukah and Rushdi systems and to make every effort to reach Sheria before nightfall.

The mounted troops were to be prepared in the event of a success by the main force to collect, as they were somewhat widely scattered owing to water difficulties, and push north in pursuit of the enemy. Tel el Khuweilfeh was to be attacked at dawn on the 6th, and the troops were to endeavor to reach line Tel el Khuweilfeh-Rijm el Dhib.

11. At dawn on the 6th the attacking force had taken up positions of readiness to the southeast of the Kauwukah system of trenches. The attack was to be commenced by an assault on the group of works forming the extreme left of the enemy's defensive system, followed by an advance due west up the railway, capturing the line of detached works which lay east of the railway. During this attack London and Irish troops were to advance toward the Kauwukah system, bringing forward their guns to within wire-cutting range. They were to assault the southeastern face of the Kauwukah system as soon as the bombardment had proved effective, and thence take the remainder of the system in enfilade.

The attack progressed rapidly, the yeomanry storming the works on the enemy's extreme left with great dash; and soon after

noon the London and Irish troops commenced their attack. It was completely successful in capturing all its objectives, and the whole of the Rushdi system in addition. Sheria station was also captured before dark. The yeomanry reached the line of the Wadi Sheria to Wadi Union; and the troops on the left were close to Hareira redoubt, which was still occupied by the enemy. This attack was a fine performance, the troops advancing eight or nine miles during the day and capturing a series of very strong works covering a front of about seven miles, the greater part of which had been held and strengthened by the enemy for over six months. Some 600 prisoners were taken and some guns and machine guns captured. Our casualties were comparatively slight. The greatest opposition was encountered by the yeomanry in the early morning, the works covering the left of the enemy's line being strong and stubbornly defended.

During the afternoon, as soon as it was seen that the attack had succeeded, mounted troops were ordered to take up the pursuit and to occupy Huj and Jemmamah.

The 53d (Welsh) Division had again had very severe fighting on the 6th. Their attack at dawn on Tel el Khuweilfeh was successful, and, though they were driven off a hill by a counterattack, they retook it and captured another hill, which much improved their position. The Turkish losses in this area were very heavy indeed, and the stubborn fighting of the 53d (Welsh) Division, Imperial Camel Corps, and part of the mounted troops during Nov. 2 to 6 drew in and exhausted the Turkish reserves and paved the way for the success of the attack on Sheria. The 53d (Welsh) Division took several hundred prisoners and some guns during this fighting.

12. The bombardment of Gaza had meanwhile continued, and another attack was ordered to take place on the night of the 6th-7th.

The objectives were, on the right, Outpost Hill and Middlesex Hill, (to be attacked at 11:30 P. M. on the 6th,) and on the left the line Belah Trench-Turtle Hill, (to be attacked at dawn on the 7th.)

During the 6th a certain amount of movement on the roads north of Gaza was observed by our airmen and fired on by our heavy artillery, but nothing indicating a general retirement from Gaza.

Gaza Evacuated by Turks

The attack on Outpost Hill and Middlesex Hill met with little opposition, and as soon, after they had been taken, as patrols could be pushed forward, the enemy was found to be gone. East Anglian troops on the left also found at dawn that the enemy had retired during the night, and early in the morning the main force occupied the northern and eastern defenses of Gaza. Rearguards were still occupying Beit Hanun and the Atawineh and Tank systems, whence Turk-

ish artillery continued to fire on Gaza and Ali Muntar till dusk.

As soon as it was seen that the Turks had evacuated Gaza a part of the force pushed along the coast to the mouth of the Wadi Hesi, so as to turn the Wadi Hesi line and prevent the enemy making any stand there. Cavalry had already pushed on round the north of Gaza, and became engaged with an enemy rearguard at Beit Hanun, which maintained its position till nightfall. The force advancing along the coast reached the Wadi Hesi by evening, and succeeded in establishing itself on the north bank in the face of considerable opposition, a Turkish rearguard making several determined counterattacks.

On our extreme right the situation remained practically unchanged during the 7th; the enemy made no further attempt to counter-attack, but maintained his positions opposite our right flank guard.

In the centre the Hareira Tepar redoubt was captured at dawn; some prisoners and guns were taken. The London troops, after a severe engagement at Tel el Sheria, which they captured by a bayonet charge at 4 A. M. on the 7th, subsequently repulsing several counterattacks, pushed forward their line about a mile to the north of Tel el Sheria; the mounted troops on the right moved toward Jemmamah and Huj, but met with considerable opposition from hostile rear-guards.

13. During the 8th the advance was continued, and interest was chiefly centred in an attempt to cut off, if possible, the Turkish rearguard which had held the Tank and Atawineh systems. The enemy had, however, retreated during the night 7th-8th, and though considerable captures of prisoners, guns, ammunition, and other stores were made during the day, chiefly in the vicinity of Huj, no large formed body of the enemy was cut off. The Turkish rearguards fought stubbornly and offered considerable opposition. Near Huj a fine charge by some squadrons of the Worcester and Warwick yeomanry captured twelve guns and broke the resistance of a hostile rearguard. It soon became obvious from the reports of the Royal Flying Corps, who throughout the 7th and 8th attacked the retreating columns with bombs and machine-gun fire, and from other evidence, that the enemy was retiring in considerable disorganization, and could offer no very serious resistance if pressed with determination.

Advancing Toward Hebron

Instructions were accordingly issued on the morning of the 9th to the mounted troops, directing them on the line El Tine-Beit Duras, with orders to press the enemy relentlessly. They were to be supported by a portion of the force, which was ordered to push forward to Julis and Mejdal.

The enemy opposite our right flank guard had commenced to retreat toward Hebron

on the morning of the 8th. He was pursued for a short distance by the yeomanry, and some prisoners and camels were captured, but the yeomanry were then recalled to rejoin the main body of the mounted troops for the more important task of the pursuit of the enemy's main body.

By the 9th, therefore, operations had reached the stage of a direct pursuit by as many troops as could be supplied so far in front of railhead. The problem, in fact, became one of supply rather than manoeuvre. The question of water and forage was a very difficult one. Even where water was found in sufficient quantities, it was usually in wells and not on the surface, and consequently if the machinery for working the wells was damaged, or a sufficient supply of troughs was not available, the process of watering a large quantity of animals was slow and difficult.

Stronger Resistance

14. On the evening of Nov. 9 there were indications that the enemy was organizing a counterattack toward Arak el Menshive by all available units of the force which had retire toward Hebron, with the object of taking pressure off the main force, which was retiring along the coastal plain. It was obvious that the Hebron force, which was believed to be short of transport and ammunition, to have lost heavily and to be in a generally disorganized state, could make no effective diversion, and that this threat could practically be disregarded. Other information showed the seriousness of the enemy's losses and the disorganization of his forces.

Orders were accordingly issued to press the pursuit and to reach the Junction Station as early as possible, thus cutting off the Jerusalem army, while the Imperial Camel Corps was ordered to move to the neighborhood of Tel el Nejile, where it would be on the flank of any counterstroke from the hills.

Operations on the 10th and 11th showed a stiffening of the enemy's resistance on the general line of the Wadi Sukereir, with centre about El Kustineh; the Hebron group, after an ineffective demonstration in the direction of Arak el Menshiye on the 10th, retired northeast and prolonged the enemy's line toward Beit Jibrin. Royal Flying Corps reports indicated the total hostile forces opposed to us on this line at about 15,000, and this increased resistance, coupled with the capture of prisoners from almost every unit of the Turkish force, tended to show that we were no longer opposed to rearguards, but that all the remainder of the Turkish Army which could be induced to fight was making a last effort to arrest our pursuit south of the important Junction Station.

In these circumstances our progress on the 10th and 11th was slow; the troops suffered considerably from thirst, (a hot, exhausting wind blew during these two days,) and our supply difficulties were great, but by the

evening of the 11th favorable positions had been reached for a combined attack.

The 12th was spent in preparations for the attack, which was ordered to begin early on the morning of the 13th, on the enemy's position covering Junction Station. Our forces were now operating at a distance of some thirty-five miles in advance of their railhead, and the bringing up and distribution of supplies and ammunition formed a difficult problem. The routes north of the Wadi Hesi were found to be hard and good going, though there were some difficult wadi crossings, but the main road through Gaza and as far as Beit Hanun was sandy and difficult. The supply of water in the area of operations, though good and plentiful in most of the villages, lies mainly in wells 100 feet or more below the surface, and in these circumstances a rapid supply and distribution was almost impossible. Great credit is due to all concerned that these difficulties were overcome and that it was found possible not only to supply the troops already in the line, but to bring up two heavy batteries to support the attack.

15. The situation on the morning of Nov. 13 was that the enemy had strung out his force (amounting probably to no more than 20,000 rifles in all) on a front of twenty miles, from El Kubeibeh on the north to about Beit Jibrin to the south. The right half of his line ran roughly parallel to and only about five miles in front of the Ramleh-Junction Station railway, his main line of supply from the north, and his right flank was already almost turned. This position had been dictated to him by the rapidity of our movement along the coast and the determination with which his rearguards on this flank had been pressed.

The advanced guard of the 52d (Lowland) Division had forced its way almost to Burkah on the 11th, on which day also some mounted troops pushed across the Nahr Suhereir at Jisr Esdud, where they held a bridgehead. During the 12th the yeomanry pushed north up the left bank of the Nahr Suhereir, and eventually seized Tel-el-Murreh on the right bank near the mouth.

Enemy Forces Cut in Two

The hostile commander may have hoped to exercise some moral effect on our plans by the presence of the southern portion of his forces on the flank of our advance; if so, he was mistaken. The Australian mounted troops, extended over a wide front, not only secured this flank but pressed forward on the 12th toward Balin, Berkusie, and Tel-es-Safi. Their advanced troops were counter-attacked and driven back a short distance, but the enemy made no effort to press further forward. Arrangements were then made to attack on the 13th.

The country over which the attack took place is open and rolling, dotted with small villages surrounded by mud walls, with

plantations of trees outside the walls. The most prominent feature is the line of heights on which are the villages of Katrah and El Mughar, standing out above the low flat ground which separates them from the rising ground to the west, on which stands the village of Beshshit, about 2,000 yards distant. This Katrah-El Mughar line forms a very strong position, and it was here that the enemy made his most determined resistance against the turning movement directed against his right flank. The capture of this position by the 52d (Lowland) Division, assisted by a most dashing charge of mounted troops, who galloped across the plain under heavy fire and turned the enemy's position from the north, was a fine feat of arms. Some 1,100 prisoners, 3 guns, and many machine guns were taken here. After this the enemy resistance weakened, and by the evening his forces were retiring east and north.

The infantry, who were sent forward about dusk to occupy Junction Station, met with some resistance and halted for the night, not much more than a mile west of the station. Early next morning (Nov. 14) they occupied the station.

The enemy's army had now been broken into two separate parts, which retired north and east respectively, and were reported to consist of small scattered groups rather than formed bodies of any size.

Advance of Sixty Miles

In fifteen days our force had advanced sixty miles on its right and about forty on its left. It had driven a Turkish army of nine infantry divisions and one cavalry division out of a position in which it had been intrenched for six months, and had pursued it, giving battle whenever it attempted to stand and inflicting on it losses amounting probably to nearly two-thirds of the enemy's original effectives. Over 9,000 prisoners, about 80 guns, more than 100 machine guns, and very large quantities of ammunition and other stores had been captured.

16. After the capture of Junction Station on the morning of the 14th, our troops secured a position covering the station, while the Australian mounted troops reached Kezaze that same evening.

The mounted troops pressed on toward Ramleh and Ludd. On the right Naaneh was attacked and captured in the morning, while on the left the New Zealand Mounted Rifles had a smart engagement at Ayun Kara, (six miles south of Jaffa.) Here the Turks made a determined counterattack and got to within fifteen yards of our line. A bayonet attack drove them back with heavy loss.

Flanking the advance along the railway to Ramleh and covering the main road from Ramleh to Jerusalem, a ridge stands up prominently out of the low foothills surrounding it. This is the site of the ancient Gezer, near which the village of Abu Shusheh now

stands. A hostile rearguard had established itself on this feature. It was captured on the morning of the 15th in a brilliant attack by mounted troops, who galloped up the ridge from the south. A gun and 360 prisoners were taken in this affair.

By the evening of the 15th the mounted troops had occupied Ramleh and Ludd, and had pushed patrols to within a short distance of Jaffa. At Ludd 300 prisoners were taken, and five destroyed airplanes and a quantity of abandoned war material were found at Ramleh and Ludd.

Jaffa was occupied without opposition on the evening of the 16th.

17. The situation was now as follows:

The enemy's army, cut in two by our capture of Junction Station, had retired partly east into the mountains toward Jerusalem and partly north along the plain. The nearest line on which these two portions could reunite was the line Tul Keram-Nablus. Reports from the Royal Flying Corps indicated that it was the probable intention of the enemy to evacuate Jerusalem and withdraw to reorganize on this line.

On our side the mounted troops had been marching and fighting continuously since Oct. 31, and had advanced a distance of seventy-five miles, measured in a straight line from Asluj to Jaffa. The troops, after their heavy fighting at Gaza, had advanced in nine days a distance of about forty miles, with two severe engagements and continual advanced guard fighting. The 52d (Lowland) Division had covered sixty-nine miles in this period.

The railway was being pushed forward as rapidly as possible, and every opportunity was taken of landing stores at points along the coast. The landing of stores was dependent on a continuance of favorable weather, and might at any moment be stopped for several days together.

A pause was therefore necessary to await the progress of railway construction, but before our position in the plain could be considered secure it was essential to obtain a hold of the one good road which traverses the Judean range from north to south, from Nablus to Jerusalem.

Through the Judean Hills

18. The west side of the Judean range consists of a series of spurs running east and west, and separated from one another by narrow valleys. These spurs are steep, bare, and stony for the most part, and in places precipitous. Between the foot of the spur of the main range and the coastal plain is the low range known as the Shephelah.

On our intended line of advance only one good road, the main Jaffa-Jerusalem road, traversed the hills from east to west. For nearly four miles, between Bab el Wad (two and one half miles east of Latron) and Saris, this road passes through a narrow

defile, and it had been damaged by the Turks in several places. The other roads were mere tracks on the side of the hill or up the stony beds of wadis, and were impracticable for wheeled transport without improvement. Throughout these hills the water supply was scanty without development.

On Nov. 17 the yeomanry had commenced to move from Ramleh through the hills direct on Bireh by Annabeh, Berfilya, and Beit ur el Tahta, (Lower Bethhoron.) By the evening of Nov. 18 one portion of the yeomanry had reached the last-named place, while another portion had occupied Shilta. The route had been found impossible for wheels beyond Annabeh.

On the 19th the infantry commenced its advance. One portion was to advance up the main road as far as Kuryet el Enab, with its right flank protected by Australian mounted troops. From that place, in order to avoid any fighting in the close vicinity of the Holy City, it was to strike north toward Bireh by a track leading through Biddu. The remainder of the infantry was to advance through Berfilya to Beit Likia and Beit Dukka, and thence support the movement of the other portion.

After capturing Latron and Amnas on the morning of the 19th, the remainder of the day was spent in clearing the defile up to Saris, which was defended by hostile rear-guards.

On the 20th Kuryet el Enab was captured with the bayonet in the face of organized opposition, while Beit Dukka was also captured. On the same day the yeomanry got to within four miles of the Nablus-Jerusalem road, but were stopped by strong opposition about Beitunia.

On the 21st a body of infantry moved northeast by a track from Kuryet el Enab through Biddu and Kulundia toward Bireh. The track was found impassable for wheels, and was under hostile shellfire. Progress was slow, but by evening the ridge on which stands Neby Samwil was secured. A further body of troops was left at Kuryet el Enab to cover the flank and demonstrate along the main Jerusalem road. It drove hostile parties from Kustul, two and a half miles east of Kuryet el Enab, and secured this ridge.

By the afternoon of the 21st advance parties of yeomanry were within two miles of the road and an attack was being delivered on Beitunia by other mounted troops.

Temporary Reverse Overcome

19. The positions reached on the evening of the 21st practically marked the limit of progress in this first attempt to gain the Nablus-Jerusalem road. The yeomanry were heavily counterattacked and fell back, after bitter fighting, on Beit ur el Foka, (Upper Bethhoron.) During the 22d the enemy made two counterattacks on the Neby Samwil Ridge, which were repulsed. Determined and gallant attacks were made on

the 23d and on the 24th on the strong positions to the west of the road held by the enemy, who had brought up reinforcements and numerous machine guns, and could support his infantry by artillery fire from guns placed in positions along the main road. Our artillery, from lack of roads, could not be brought up to give adequate support to our infantry. Both attacks failed, and it was evident that a period of preparation and organization would be necessary before an attack could be delivered in sufficient strength to drive the enemy from his positions west of the road.

Orders were accordingly issued to consolidate the positions gained and prepare for relief.

Though these troops had failed to reach their final objectives, they had achieved invaluable results. The narrow passes from the plain to the plateau of the Judean Range have seldom been forced and have been fatal to many invading armies. Had the attempt not been made at once, or had it been pressed with less determination, the enemy would have had time to reorganize his defenses in the passes lower down, and the conquest of the plateau would then have been slow, costly, and precarious. As it was, positions had been won from which the final attack could be prepared and delivered with good prospects of success.

20. By Dec. 4 all reliefs were complete, and a line was held from Kustul by the Neby Samwil Ridge, Beit Izza, and Beit Dukka, to Beit ur el Tahta.

During this period attacks by the enemy along the whole line led to severe local fighting. On Nov. 25 our advanced posts north of the River Auja were driven back across the river. From the 27th to the 30th the enemy delivered a series of attacks directed especially against the high ground north and northeast of Jaffa, the left flank of our position in the hills from Beit ur el Foka to El Burj and the Neby Samwil Ridge. An attack on the night of the 29th succeeded in penetrating our outpost line northeast of Jaffa, but next morning the whole hostile detachment, numbering 150, was surrounded and captured by Australian light horse. On the 30th a similar fate befell a battalion which attacked near El Burj; a counter-attack by Australian light horse took 200 prisoners and practically destroyed the attacking battalion. There was particularly heavy fighting between El Burj and Beit ur el Foka, but the yeomanry and Scottish troops successfully resisted all attacks and inflicted severe losses on the enemy. At Beit ur el Foka one company took 300 prisoners. All efforts by the enemy to drive us off the Neby Samwil Ridge were completely repulsed. These attacks cost the Turks very dearly. We took 750 prisoners between Nov. 27 and 30, and the enemy's losses in killed and wounded were undoubtedly heavy. His attacks in no way affected our positions nor impeded the progress of our preparations.

Closing In on Jerusalem

21. Favored by a continuance of fine weather, preparations for a fresh advance against the Turkish positions west and south of Jerusalem proceeded rapidly. Existing roads and tracks were improved and new ones constructed to enable heavy and field artillery to be placed in position and ammunition and supplies brought up. The water supply was also developed.

The date for the attack was fixed as Dec. 8. Welsh troops, with a cavalry regiment attached, had advanced from their positions north of Beersheba up the Hebron-Jerusalem road on the 4th. No opposition was met, and by the evening of the 6th the head of this column was ten miles north of Hebron. The infantry were directed to reach the Bethlehem-Belt Jala area by the 7th, and the line Surbahir-Sherafat (about three miles south of Jerusalem) by dawn on the 8th, and no troops were to enter Jerusalem during this operation.

It was recognized that the troops on the extreme right might be delayed on the 7th and fail to reach the positions assigned to them by dawn on the 8th. Arrangements were therefore made to protect the right flank west of Jerusalem, in case such delay occurred.

22. On the 7th the weather broke, and for three days rain was almost continuous. The hills were covered with mist at frequent intervals, rendering observation from the air and visual signaling impossible. A more serious effect of the rain was to jeopardize the supply arrangements by rendering the roads almost impassable—quite impassable, indeed, for mechanical transport and camels in many places.

The troops moved into positions of assembly by night, and, assaulting at dawn on the 8th, soon carried their first objectives. They then pressed steadily forward. The mere physical difficulty of climbing the steep and rocky hillsides and crossing the deep valleys would have sufficed to render progress slow, and the opposition encountered was considerable. Artillery support was soon difficult, owing to the length of the advance and the difficulty of moving guns forward. But by about noon London troops had already advanced over two miles, and were swinging northeast to gain the Nablus-Jerusalem road, while the yeomanry had captured the Belt Ikksa spur, and were preparing for a further advance.

Jerusalem Forced to Surrender

As the right column had been delayed and was still some distance south of Jerusalem, it was necessary for the London troops to throw back their right and form a defensive flank facing east toward Jerusalem, from the western outskirts of which considerable rifle and artillery fire was being experienced. This delayed the advance, and early in the afternoon it was decided to consoli-

date the line gained and resume the advance next day, when the right column would be in a position to exert its pressure. By nightfall our line ran from Neby Samwil to the east of Belt Ikksa, through Lifta to a point about one and a half miles west of Jerusalem, whence it was thrown back facing east. All the enemy's prepared defenses west and northwest of Jerusalem had been captured, and our troops were within a short distance of the Nablus-Jerusalem road.

The London troops and yeomanry had displayed great endurance in difficult conditions. The London troops especially, after a night march in heavy rain to reach their positions of deployment, had made an advance of three to four miles in difficult hills in the face of stubborn opposition.

During the day about 300 prisoners were taken and many Turks killed. Our own casualties were light.

23. Next morning the advance was resumed. The Turks had withdrawn during the night, and the London troops and yeomanry, driving back rearguards, occupied a line across the Nablus-Jerusalem road four miles north of Jerusalem, while Welsh troops occupied a position east of Jerusalem across the Jericho road. These operations isolated Jerusalem, and at about noon the enemy sent out a *parlementaire* and surrendered the city.

At noon on the 11th I made my official entry into Jerusalem.

24. In the operations from Oct. 31 to Dec. 9 over 12,000 prisoners were taken. The total captures of material have not yet been fully counted, owing to the large area covered by these operations; but are known to include about 100 guns of various calibres, many machine guns, more than 20,000,000 rounds of rifle ammunition, and 250,000 rounds of gun ammunition. More than twenty airplanes were destroyed by our airmen or burned by the enemy to avoid capture.

Special Services

25. My thanks are due to the cordial assistance which I have received from his Excellency the High Commissioner, General Sir Francis Wingate, G. C. B., G. C. V. O., K. C. M. G., D. S. O., who has always given me the greatest assistance.

26. During the whole period Rear Admiral T. Jackson, C. B., M. V. O., has given me most loyal support, and has co-operated with me in a manner which has materially contributed to our success.

27. Brig. Gen. Sir G. Macauley, K. C. M. G., C. B., Director of Railway Transport, has given invaluable help in the organization of my railways.

28. All ranks and services in the force under my command have acquitted themselves in a manner beyond praise. Fatigue, thirst, heat, and cold have been endured uncomplainingly. The co-operation of all arms has been admirable, and has enabled success in battle

to be consummated by irresistible and victorious pursuit.

Leaders and staffs have all done well, and in particular I bring to your Lordship's notice the names of the following officers:

Major Gen. (temporary Lieut. Gen.) Sir Philip Chetwode, Bart., K. C. M. G., C. B., D. S. O.

My plan of operations was based on his appreciation of the situation and on the scheme which he put forward to me on my arrival in Egypt last Summer. To his strategical foresight and tactical skill the success of the campaign is largely due.

Major Gen. (temporary Lieut. Gen.) E. S. Bulfin, C. B., C. V. O.

Has shown great ability as an organizer and leader in high command. To his determination in attack, and his dash and drive in pursuit, is due the swift advance to Jerusalem.

Major Gen. (temporary Lieut. Gen.) Sir Henry Chauvel, K. C. M. G., C. B.

Has commanded my mounted troops with invariable success in attack and pursuit. His

co-operation with other arms has always been ready and loyal, and has contributed greatly to the victory won.

Major Gen. L. J. Bols, C. B., D. S. O., Chief of the General Staff, has done brilliant work. He is a General Staff officer of the first rank.

Major Gen. J. Adye, C. B., Deputy Adjutant General, has rendered invaluable service.

Major Gen. Sir Walter Campbell, K. C. M. G., C. B., D. S. O., Deputy Quartermaster General, has had a difficult task which he has carried out with complete success.

Brevet Lieut. Col. (temporary Brig. Gen.) G. P. Dawnay, D. S. O., M. V. O., Reserve of Officers, Brigadier General, General Staff, has proved himself a strategist and tactician of unusual merit. His work has been of the highest value.

I have the honor to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

E. H. H. ALLENBY,
General.

Commanding in Chief,
Egyptian Expeditionary Force.

The Delivery of Jerusalem

The Narrative of an Eyewitness

[SEE MAP ON PAGE 155]

The peculiar interest of this article from the pen of a correspondent of The London Times is that it presents an inside view of what happened within the Holy City during the approach of General Allenby's forces. With General Allenby's official report of the campaign, which will be found elsewhere in this issue, it affords new light upon the historic event.

IT was whispered in Jerusalem on Nov. 9 that the British were at Huj, behind the centre of the Gaza-Beer-sheba line, and that Tel-el-Sheria and Gaza had fallen. The Germans and Austrians were even now preparing to evacuate the Holy City. Rumor for once was true. During the next few days lame or exhausted Turks, wounded and stragglers, whom the German motor-lorry drivers refused to pick up, and Turkish officers shaken into truthfulness by the extent of their defeat, brought news of the victory. Turkish officials at once began to leave the city with their families. The German depots were hurriedly emptied of unessential supplies, such as sugar, which were sold for a song. Munitions and essential stores were then sent north to Shechem, or east to Jericho.

From the high towers of the city and from the Mount of Olives one could see a great double wall of dust along every road each day, and on a clear day one could see lorries, carts, and pack animals streaming up and down. Owners of the few horse carriages left asked for and obtained £10 a seat from fugitives who were making for Shechem.

FALKENHAYN'S MOVEMENTS

The great commanders hastened to Jerusalem. Enver, who had hurried from the imperial headquarters at Constantinople to harangue his defeated Generals, departed as suddenly and silently as he had come. Falkenhayn came from the City of Aleppo to reorganize the beaten army. Meanwhile the British troops had pushed up the passes into the highlands

of Judea. Their guns were faintly heard at Jerusalem as they fought their way up the valley of Sorek, and thenceforward the sound of battle grew louder day by day.

Falkenhayn himself departed for Shechem on Nov. 16, and on the 19th Latin, Greek, Armenian, and Coptic patriarchs, with the principal ecclesiastics from the churches, left for the same place; so also went certain Jewish notables suspected of Zionism.

Then came a sudden change in the temper of the Turks; the British were held up at Neby Samwil, in sight of Shechem, by reason of difficulties of transport. The Turks had received the command to stand from their German masters, who had preached the uselessness of attempting to hold Jerusalem once the Gaza line had gone, but their pride forbade them to surrender one of the holiest cities of the Turkish Caliphate without a struggle.

Falkenhayn having gone, the control of policy reverted to Turkish hands, and Ali Fuad Pasha, commander of the Turkish forces in Jerusalem, issued two proclamations to the people of the city. He first warned all civilians that street fighting was to be expected, and when it began they were to keep indoors and assist the troops in the impending house-to-house conflict under pain of severe penalties. The second proclamation stated that the Turks had held Jerusalem for 1,300 years (an exaggeration of only nine centuries) and would not abandon it. The inhabitants were ordered to have complete confidence in the good behavior of the troops detailed to defend the city to the last. Dismayed by threats and informed by Turkish officers that the British advance had spent itself, and that a new period of trench warfare was at hand, the people despaired. Arrests and confiscations multiplied, and the innate spitefulness of the Young Turk official manifested itself in many ways.

On Dec. 6 and 7 the fighting on the hills west of Jerusalem and the rapid advance of a British force from Hebron began to revive the hope of a decision.

On the morning of Dec. 8 large numbers of the inhabitants, with the remaining religious chiefs, were personally warned by the police to be ready to leave at once. The extent to which the Turks were prepared to clear the city is shown by the fact that out of the Armenian community of 1,400 souls 300 received this notice. The tyrannical Djemal Pasha, when warned that vehicles were unavailable for the transport of the unhappy exiles to Shechem or Jericho, telegraphed curtly that they and theirs must walk. The fate of countless Armenians and many Greeks has shown that a population of all ages suddenly turned out to walk indefinite distances under Turkish escort is exposed to outrage and hardship which prove fatal to most of them; but the delay in telegraphing had saved the population, and the sun had risen for the last time on the Ottoman domination of Jerusalem, and the Turks' power to destroy faded with the day.

Toward dusk the British troops were reported to have passed Lifta, and to be within sight of the city. On this news being received, a sudden panic fell on the Turks west and southwest of the town, and at 5 in the afternoon civilians were surprised to see a Turkish transport column galloping furiously cityward along the Jaffa road. In passing they alarmed all units within sight or hearing, and the wearied infantry arose and fled, bootless and without rifles, never pausing to think or to fight. Some were flogged from behind by officers and were compelled to pick up their arms; others staggered on through the mud, augmenting the confusion of the retreat.

After four centuries of conquest the Turk was ridding the land of his presence in the bitterness of defeat, and a great enthusiasm arose among the Jews. There was a running to and fro; daughters called to their fathers and brothers concealed in outhouses, cellars, and attics from the police, who sought them for arrest and deportation. "The Turks are running," they called; "the day of deliverance is come." The nightmare was fast passing away, but the Turk still lingered. In the evening he fired his

guns continuously, perhaps comforting himself with the loud noise that heartens the soul of a barbarian, perhaps to cover the sound of his own retreat. Whatever the intention was, the roar of the gunfire persuaded most citizens to remain indoors, and there were few to witness the last act of Osmanli authority.

DEPARTURE OF TURKS

Toward midnight the Governor, Izzet Bey, went personally to the telegraph office, discharged the staff, and himself smashed the instruments with a hammer. At 2 A. M. on Sunday tired Turks began to troop through the Jaffa gate from the west and southwest, and anxious watchers, peering out through the windows of the grand new hotel to learn the meaning of the tramping, were cheered by the sullen remark of an officer, "Gitmaya mejbooruz," ("We've got to go,") and from 2 till 7 that morning the Turks streamed through and out of the city, which echoed for the last time their shuffling tramp. On this same day 2,082 years before, another race of conquerors, equally detested, were looking their last on the city which they could not hold, and inasmuch as the liberation of Jerusalem in 1917 will probably ameliorate the lot of the Jews more than that of any other community in Palestine, it was fitting that the flight of the Turks should have coincided with the national festival of the Hanookah, which commemorates the recapture of the Temple from the heathen Seleusids by Judas Maccabeus in 165 B. C.

The Governor was the last civil official to depart. He left in a cart belonging to Mr. Vester, an American resident, from whom he had "borrowed" an unrequisitioned cart and team. Before the dawn he hastened down the Jericho Road, leaving behind him a letter of surrender, which the Mayor as the sun rose set forth to deliver to the British commander accompanied by a few frightened policemen holding two tremulous white flags. He walked toward the Lifta Hill and met the first armed deliverers on a spot which may be marked in the future with a white stone as the site of a historic episode.

The last Turkish soldier is said to have left Jerusalem at about 7 o'clock by the east gate of the city, which is named after St. Stephen, but even later, when the British patrols had entered the town to keep order, armed stragglers were still trickling along the road just outside the north wall, requisitioning food and water at the point of the bayonet. This is no grievous crime on the part of defeated troops, uncertain of their next meal, but is recorded as the last kick of the dying Ottoman authority in a city where it had been supreme for four centuries.

As the Turkish flood finally ebbed away into the shadowy depths of the Valley of Jehoshaphat the townsfolk roused themselves from the lethargy into which hunger and the Turkish police had plunged them and fell upon a variety of buildings, official or requisitioned for official purposes, and looted them, even stripping roofs, doors, and floors from the Ottoman barracks next to the Tower of David for firewood.

ARRIVAL OF GENERAL ALLENBY

It must be admitted that, as the Government had furnished and maintained itself almost entirely by uncompensated requisitions, the mob was only trying to indemnify itself. But this disorder ceased as suddenly as it had arisen on the appearance of the British infantry. The outbreak, however, had at least the effect of thawing the people from the state of cowed humility into which they had been beaten and dragooned by their foreign masters, for it is well to remember that the Turk is as much a foreigner to Jerusalem as his British conqueror.

Looting was done chiefly by small parties working in half furtive haste, and at no time was there any notable throng of people in any street; but when the time came for the great and simple act of the solemn entry of General Allenby into Jerusalem, and the Arab prophecy was fulfilled that when the Nile had flowed into Palestine the prophet (Al Neb) from the west should drive the Turk from Jerusalem, then the inhabitants mustered courage to gather in a great crowd. They were

themselves amazed, for during more than three years an assembly of more than three persons in one place was discouraged by the police by blows, fines, imprisonment, and even exile. Eyewitnesses of all three events state that the crowd gathered at the Jaffa gate to greet the General was larger than that which met the Emperor William when on his fantastic political pilgrimage in 1898, and denser than the gathering which greeted the revival of the Constitution when it was proclaimed ten years later at the Damascus gate, where there is more space. Many wept for joy, priests were seen to embrace one another, but there were no theatricalities such as the hollow reconciliations which made the triumph of the Young Turk in 1908 memorable, and which sickened the memories of those who know the horrors and calamities which that triumph, alas! was doomed to bring. The General entered the city on foot, and left it on foot, and no pageantry profaned the solemnity of the moment.

FREEDOM OF WORSHIP

A proclamation announcing that order would be maintained in all the hallowed sites of the three great religions, which

were to be guarded and preserved, and no impediment to be placed in the way of worshippers therein, was read in English, French, Italian, and Arabic from the parapet of the citadel below the Tower of David. When this was done General Allenby went to the small square behind the citadel, where the chief notables and ecclesiastics of the different communities who had remained were presented to him. After this brief ceremony the General left the City of David by the Jaffa gate.

The Turk, who had been thrust from Jerusalem despite his utmost endeavor, by steady tactical pressure, soon rallied and tried desperately to regain the Holy City three weeks after he had lost it. Pious regard for the sanctity of the holy places had induced the British General to drive out the Turks by manoeuvre rather than bombardment and assault, for he did not wish to shed blood within the threshold of the sanctuary of three faiths. But when the Turks sought to recover by force what they had lost, the lion leaped on them, on the hills to the north and east of the city, and tore them.

Then at last the people understood that Jerusalem was free.

[Official]

British Victories in Mesopotamia

General Maude's Last Dispatch

A DISPATCH from Lieut. Gen. Sir Stanley Maude giving an account of the work of the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force from April 1 to Sept. 30, 1917, was made public by the British War Office on Jan. 10, 1918. The dispatch is dated Oct. 15, 1917, five weeks before Sir Stanley Maude's death from cholera. It describes the fighting last April in which Turkish attacks on the Dialah front and the Shatt el Adhaim were defeated, the victory at Istabulat, which led to the capture of Samarra, and the later engagements on the Euphrates, where the Turkish force at

Ramadie was compelled to surrender. The references to the co-operation of Russian forces near the Persian border have fresh interest in view of Russia's recent military collapse, which leaves the British in Mesopotamia unsupported on the northeast and north.

Bagdad was entered by the British troops on March 11, and the first part of the dispatch deals with operations on the Tigris and the Dialah fronts, the second part narrates events on the Euphrates front, and the dispatch closes with an appreciation of the various services.

To provide for the security of Bagdad,

an open city devoid of means of defense, operations were continued against the shattered but reinforced columns of the 18th Turkish Corps, while careful watch was kept on the 13th Turkish Corps, which was falling back from Western Persia before the advance of the Russians. On April 2 a junction was effected with General Baratoff's troops, who had come down from Khanikin, about Kizil Robat—20 miles in a direct line from the British post at Shahraban. "As soon as these [the Russians] were well established on the line of the Dialah," says the report, "our column in this vicinity—having served the double purpose of harassing the retreat of the Turks and joining hands with the Russians—was withdrawn."

FIGHTING ON THE TIGRIS

This enabled General Maude to resume operations along both banks of the Tigris. His report continues:

On April 6 our cavalry moved forward to the vicinity of Deli Abbas, [north of the Dialah by Shahraban,] with instructions to cover our right flank, and by delaying action to draw on gradually any movement initiated by the 13th Turkish Corps toward the [left bank of the] Tigris. On the right bank of the Tigris the enemy's force was estimated at 4,000 rifles, with 200 sabres and 16 guns, and these were holding Harbe [forty-eight miles above Bagdad] with advanced troops about Beled Station, [on the railway from Bagdad to Samarra.] On the 8th our troops moved forward to attack the enemy's position covering Beled Station, and good progress was made until they came under close machine-gun and rifle fire from some rising ground in that vicinity. The 51st Sikhs were ordered to secure this point, and, making good use of the broken ground and well supported by artillery, they established themselves there without difficulty and pressed forward beyond. The enemy holding the station now found his position untenable, and soon his whole line was in retreat. Our losses were slight. On the 9th Harbe was occupied, and here a pause was ordered in order to allow for further operations on the left bank of the Tigris.

Our troops on the left bank had driven several parties of the enemy across the Shatt El Adhaim [north of the Dialah] on the 7th, and on the following day a close reconnaissance of this river was carried out with a view to bridging it. It now became evident, however, that the 13th Turkish Corps from Jebel Hamrin

and the 52d Division of the 18th Turkish Corps on the line of the Shatt el Adhaim were contemplating a converging movement against our troops on the left bank of the Tigris. The 2d and 14th Turkish Divisions, some 6,000 rifles strong, with 250 sabres and 32 guns, moving down the right bank of the Nahr Khalis Canal toward Deltawa, had by the evening of the 9th reached a point some seven miles southwest of Deli Abbas. * * * On the 10th the enemy was reported to be intrenching, but on the 11th he continued his advance, moving in dense columns, with his left on the Nahr Khalis.

To meet this movement and to support our cavalry we had detached troops from Deltawa up the right bank of the Nahr Khalis Canal toward Deli Abbas, while another column, leaving sufficient troops to contain the enemy on the Shatt el Adhaim, fell upon his right flank after a night march from Dogameh. This attack, resolutely pressed by two Welsh battalions and the Wiltshires, was a complete surprise, and before the enemy could recover himself heavy casualties were inflicted on his columns by our well-handled artillery and by rifle fire. Low visibility owing to mirage, heat, and the absence of water hindered our operations, but the enemy was soon in retreat.

At midday on April 12 the British cavalry located the enemy six miles from Deli Abbas, covered by an intrenched rearguard. The Turks here fought a stubborn rearguard action throughout the next two days, but by the morning of the 15th they had retreated to Kifri, and at noon the British troops entered Deli Abbas. The 18th Turkish Corps, holding the Shatt el Adhaim, still had to be dealt with. Early on April 18 British troops were thrown across that river, and, despite a narrow channel full of quicksands, the Adhaim was bridged before noon, and by 2 o'clock the infantry had cleared the loop of the river. This brigade, despite heat and thirst, pressed on until it had turned the enemy's defeat into a rout. Only a small fraction of the enemy troops encountered that day escaped.

BATTLE OF ISTABULAT

Opposition on the left bank of the Tigris having been overcome, a further advance was ordered on the right bank. Sir Stanley Maude continues:

The Turks were holding a position about Istabulat, [twelve miles south of Sa-

marra,] facing southeast, with their left resting on the river and extending over a frontage of about two and a half miles across the Dujail Canal to the Bagdad-Samarra railway. * * * The position was held by some 6,700 rifles, with 200 sabres and 31 guns, while in the vicinity of Samarra were reserves consisting of some 4,000 rifles, with 500 sabres and 15 guns.

At 5 A. M. on the 21st his position on the north side of the canal was resolutely attacked by the Black Watch and 8th Gurkhas, under a creeping barrage, and both battalions made steady progress. In spite of a hot rifle and machine-gun fire from the main position the redoubt near the river was captured and the garrison made prisoner. The other redoubt on this side of the canal was assaulted, recaptured by the enemy, and finally secured by us, thus giving our troops a good foothold in this part of the enemy's defenses. At 6:30 A. M. an attack by the Seaforths and 28th and 92d Punjabis was launched south of the canal. This advance was carried out with fine dash and gallantry across 2,000 yards of ground devoid of cover, and by 7:25 A. M. the enemy's front line, some 700 yards long, was in our hands. Consolidation proceeded, and in spite of several counterattacks all gains were held.

The remainder of the day and night was devoted to consolidation and preparation for a simultaneous attack on both sides of the canal, to be carried out next morning.

Early on the 22d our patrols reported that the enemy opposite our right was beginning to withdraw, and by 4:30 A. M. the whole of the position had been evacuated, and was then occupied by us. The natural and artificial strength of the position now became apparent, and the number of enemy dead testified to the tenacity with which it had been held. Our troops moved forward in pursuit at daybreak and were in contact with the enemy's main body in the vicinity of Istabulat Police Post by noon, where his defensive system consisted of detached groups of trenches partially completed.

The heat was great and the attack was postponed till the evening, when the assault, aided by concentrated artillery fire, was delivered in dashing style by the Leicesters, supported by the 51st Sikhs and 56th Rifles, and the defense was easily penetrated. The attacking troops pressed on relentlessly and rapidly some 1,200 yards further, and the enemy's guns were withdrawn only just in time to avoid capture. The Turks rallied and put in a series of counterattacks, with which our supporting troops dealt, but the ene-

my maintained a heavy fire until 8 P. M., when he retreated on Samarra. During the day a regiment of Indian Lancers made a spirited attempt to break through the line of trenches, and, supported by artillery fire, it captured the front Turkish trench, but its advance was finally checked by fire from other trenches in the rear.

At 10 A. M. on the 23d Samarra Station was secured, the enemy offering no further resistance and retreating on Tekrit, and on the 24th Samarra Town, on the left bank, was occupied and a post established there.

ONE MONTH'S PROGRESS

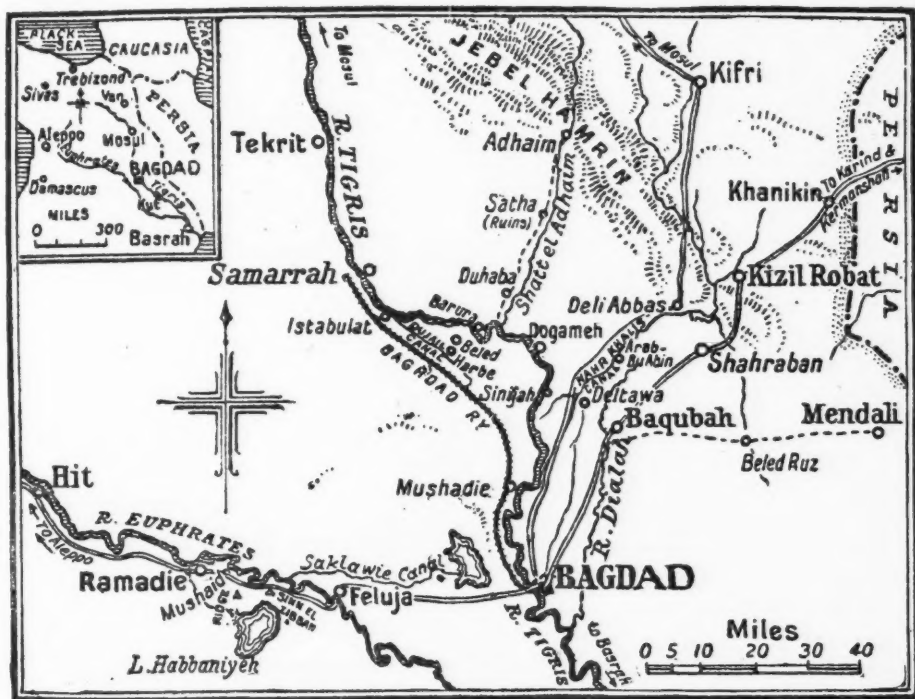
After describing his operations on the right bank of the Tigris, Sir Stanley Maude sums up the month's work in these words:

As a result of the fighting during the month of April the enemy's 13th and 18th Corps had been driven back on divergent lines, the former into the Jebel Hamrin and the latter to Tekrit. The 13th Corps had twice taken the offensive, with results disastrous to itself, and the 18th Corps had been defeated and driven from its selected positions on four occasions. Our total captures for the month amounted to some 3,000 prisoners and 17 guns, besides a considerable quantity of rolling stock and booty of all kinds. The objectives which we had set out to reach had been secured and the spirit of the enemy's troops was broken.

[Increasing heat put an end to major operations during the Summer months and a proportion of the troops were sent to India on leave.]

Early in June a communication was received from our Russian allies to the effect that in consequence of the increasing heat they had found it necessary to evacuate the line of the Dialah River, and they subsequently withdrew beyond Karind toward Kermanshah. This rendered the occupation of Beled Ruz by us necessary, and this was carried out on the 23d.

To increase his hold on the Euphrates line Sir Stanley Maude, on July 8, occupied Sinn el Zibban, some commanding ground on the right bank of the Euphrates about twelve miles upstream from Feluja, which dominates the left bank of that river at its junction with the Saklawie Canal. This advance brought the British within striking distance of Ramadie, and a column to attack Ramadie was concentrated at Sinn el Zibban on July 10, motor vans and lorries being



SCENE OF GENERAL MAUDE'S LAST OPERATIONS IN MESOPOTAMIA

allotted to carry a proportion of the troops and thus minimize the amount of marching in view of the heat then existing. Special provision was also made for water and for ice.

After a night march the column was in touch with the Turks east of Ramadie by 4 A. M. on the 11th, and by 8:15 A. M. the British had driven in the enemy's advanced troops and were preparing for the final assault against his main position. But a blinding duststorm sprang up, and the attack was postponed.

RAMADIE CAPTURED

It was Sept. 26 before a column of adequate size could again be concentrated within striking distance of Ramadie, the garrison of which place had been reinforced since July. General Maude's account of the taking of Ramadie is as follows:

The enemy held an advanced position four miles east of Ramadie, on Mushaid Ridge, which runs north and south and rises some sixty feet above the plain. To the north of the ridge lies the Euphrates River, and to the south the salt Hab-

baniyeh Lake. The Turkish main position was semicircular in outline, and was sited about one mile to the east and to the south of Ramadie. The eastern front ran along but behind the Euphrates Valley Canal and the southern front across bare sandy downs extending from the Euphrates Valley Canal to the Aziziyeh Canal, which leaves the Euphrates one mile west of Ramadie and flows southward. The plan of operations was to turn the southern flank of the Mushaid Ridge, secure a crossing over the Euphrates Valley Canal, and attack Ramadie from the south with the bulk of the column, while the cavalry operating west of the Aziziyeh Canal threw themselves across the enemy's communications with Hit by blocking the Aleppo Road. Steps were taken to induce the enemy to expect the main attack against his left on the Euphrates, and with this intent the river was bridged at Madhij.

At 6 P. M. on the 27th two infantry columns with the cavalry moved from Madhij to the position of assembly some five miles in front of our outposts, and the infantry subsequently made a night advance some two miles in a westerly direction to a position of deployment, whence an attack on Mushaid could be delivered at dawn. An infantry detachment also skirted the northern edge of Lake Hab-

baniyeh, and before daybreak on the 28th had secured important tactical features on and behind the southern flank of the Mushaid position, including a dam across the Euphrates Valley Canal, passable by all arms.

This action compelled the enemy to withdraw from Mushaid Ridge, which he shelled heavily subsequently in expectation of its occupation by our troops, but in this he was disappointed, as our infantry moved south of the ridge and crossed the dam. At 7 A. M. the cavalry were transferred from our right to our left flank, their march being screened from the enemy by Mushaid Ridge. They crossed the Euphrates Valley Canal by the dam and pushed westward across the Aziziye Canal to a position astride the Aleppo Road, so as to cut off the enemy's retreat. Meanwhile, to the west of the Euphrates Valley Canal, our left infantry column advanced against the enemy's southern front and occupied and consolidated a position under considerable opposition. In this attack the Dorsets and 5th Gurkhas especially distinguished themselves. Under cover of the attack our right infantry column was withdrawn, and, passing in rear of the left column, was subsequently launched to an attack which secured a firm footing on Aziziye Ridge. Thus by nightfall the enemy was hemmed in on the southeast and south by our infantry and on the west by the cavalry, while to the north ran the River Euphrates.

At 3 A. M. on the 29th the enemy made a determined effort to break through our cavalry and retreat by the Aleppo Road, but after an action lasting for one and a half hours they were driven back into Ramadie, the Hussars and part of a regiment of Indian cavalry, with some horse artillery and Hotchkiss guns, being mainly instrumental in heading the enemy off. At 6:15 A. M. the infantry attack was renewed from the southeast and south, and our left infantry column captured successive positions along Aziziye Ridge. The 39th Garhwalls seized the bridge where the Aleppo Road crosses the canal and captured three guns and many prisoners by 7:30 A. M., while the 90th Punjabis pushed eastward through Ramadie and secured the Turkish commander (Ahmed Bey) at his headquarters near the eastern front of the position. Both these units displayed commendable dash and initiative, and by 11 A. M. the whole of the Turkish force had surrendered.

A salient factor in these successful operations was the part played by the cavalry. First by their rapid movement around the enemy's rear and subsequently by the tactical disposition of their machine guns they prevented the enemy's columns from breaking out and so drove them back into the arms of the infantry.

The dispatch ends with a paragraph of high commendation for various special services and for officers deemed deserving of reward.

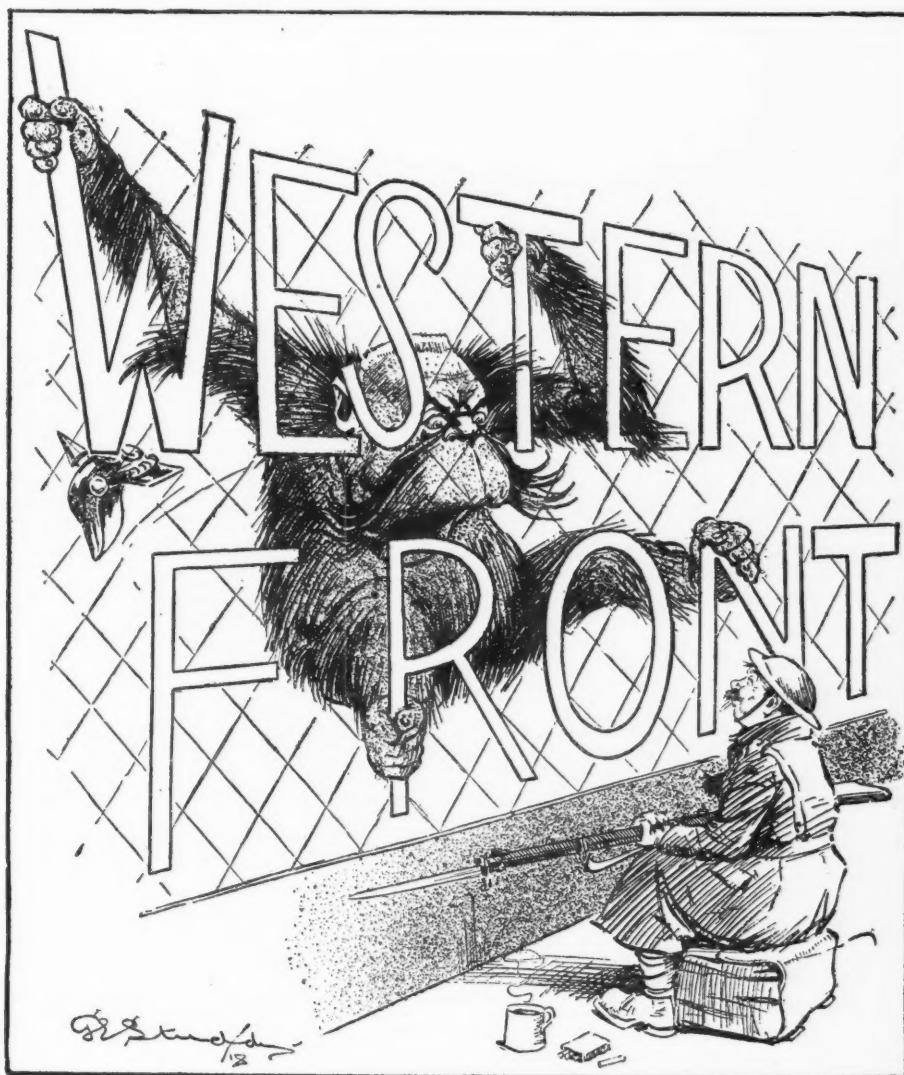
Pigeons as Life Savers

British soldiers and sailors are making frequent use of carrier pigeons as emergency messengers from the firing line and from sinking vessels far out at sea. Many a man has been saved from death by the speed of the homing pigeon. Captain Thomas Crisp, who had won the Victoria Cross and who died at the wheel under fire from a German submarine, lived long enough to dispatch a message by pigeon. The bird sped away with his last request for help for his son and crew, and they were saved—but only through the timely arrival of their pigeon messenger. On another occasion a flying boat (a boat with airplane wings) and a hydroaeroplane (an airplane with floats in place of landing wheels) both got into difficulties in stormy weather and it seemed that all lives must be lost. A message for help was sent out by pigeon. In the teeth of a fierce wind the gallant bird fought its way home, only to die from exhaustion on arrival. But its message had been delivered, assistance was sent with all speed, and the lives of both crews were saved.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[English Cartoon]

He Can't Get Through



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

TOMMY: "No missing link here, old sport!"

[French Cartoon]

“Look Out! We Are Going to Attack!”

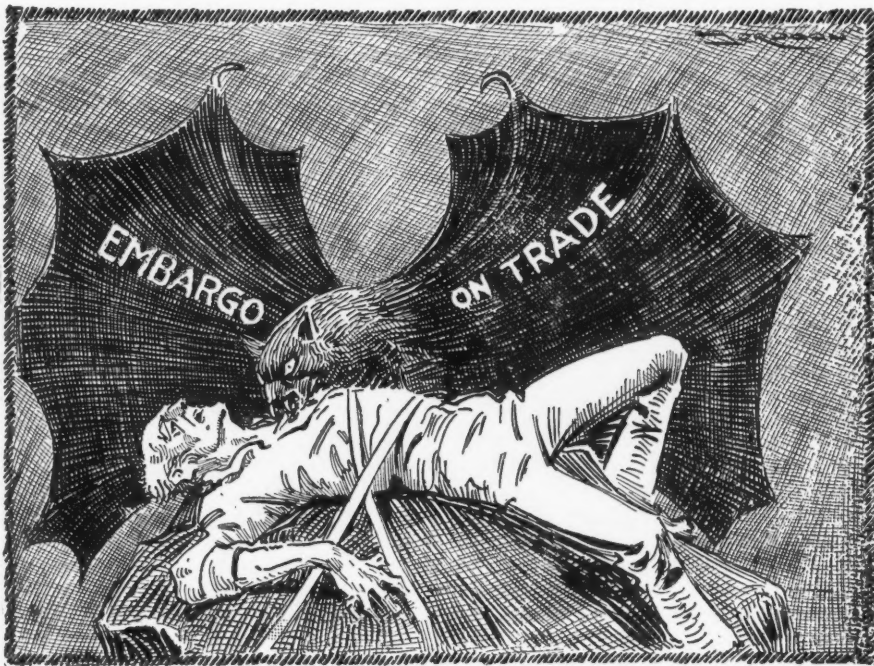


—From *L'Echo de Paris*.

A French view of the much-heralded German offensive in the west.

[Dutch Cartoon]

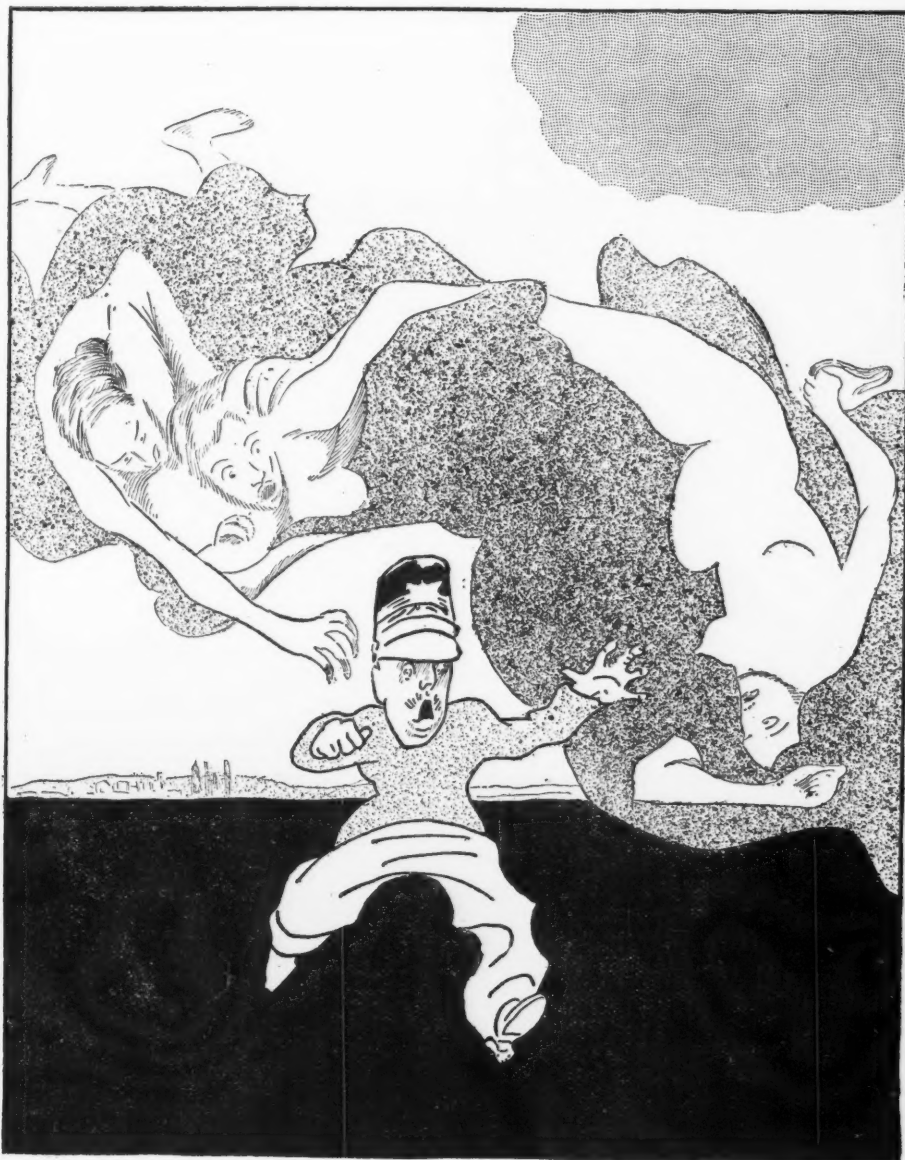
Plight of the Dutch People



—From *De Notenkraaker*, Amsterdam.

The vampire—the war embargo—is sucking the nation's lifeblood.

[German Cartoon]
Italy's Punishment



—From *Simplicissimus*, Munich.

[After the German invasion of Italy this cartoon appeared in Munich with the bitter caption: "Victor Emmanuel the Perjurer: all guilt is avenged on this earth."]

[English Cartoon]

The Austrian Ferment



—From *London Opinion*.

KAISER BILL: "Shove like mad, Carl! Remember Nicky! We mustn't let our skeleton get out of the cupboard, as Russia did."

[Italian Cartoon]

Radical Surgery Needed



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

EARTH: "This peace medicine may be all right as a sedative, but if I don't extirpate that malignant tumor I shall never get the infection out of my blood."

[American
Cartoon]

The Quack

"I don't want
you! Look what
you did to your
last patient!"

—New York Times.



[American
Cartoon]

History will say:
"Deserted and
robbed by his tra-
ducers, alienated
from his friends,
all his moral cour-
age dissipated
through his own
excesses, they
found the one-time
giant of nations
dead * * *"

—Birmingham Age-
Herald.



[American Cartoon]

Raising Their Monument



—From The Chicago Herald.

[American Cartoon]

The German-Russian Alliance

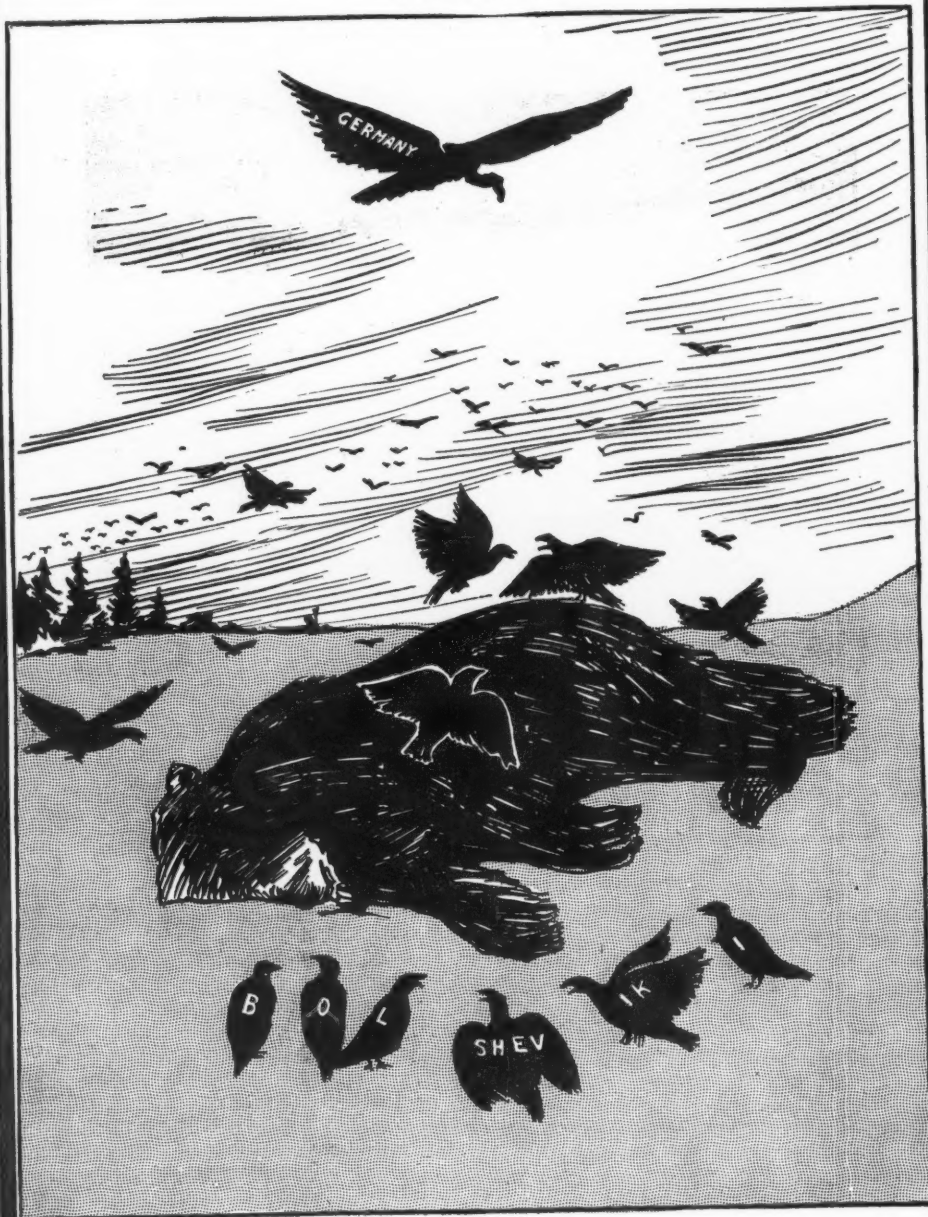


—From *The Chicago Herald*.

Puzzle: Where is Russia?

[American Cartoon]

Russia



—From *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*.

[American Cartoon]

It Is to Laugh!



—From The New York Evening Post.

[Swiss Cartoon]

The Practical Lohengrin

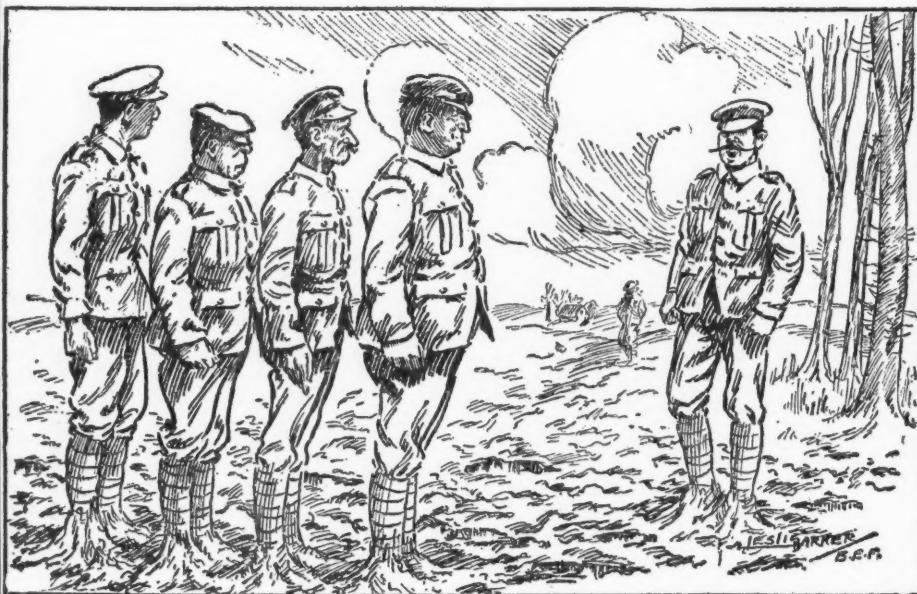


—From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

Thank Heaven for you, dear swan!

[English Cartoon]

"Theirs Not to Make Reply!"



—From The Passing Show, London.

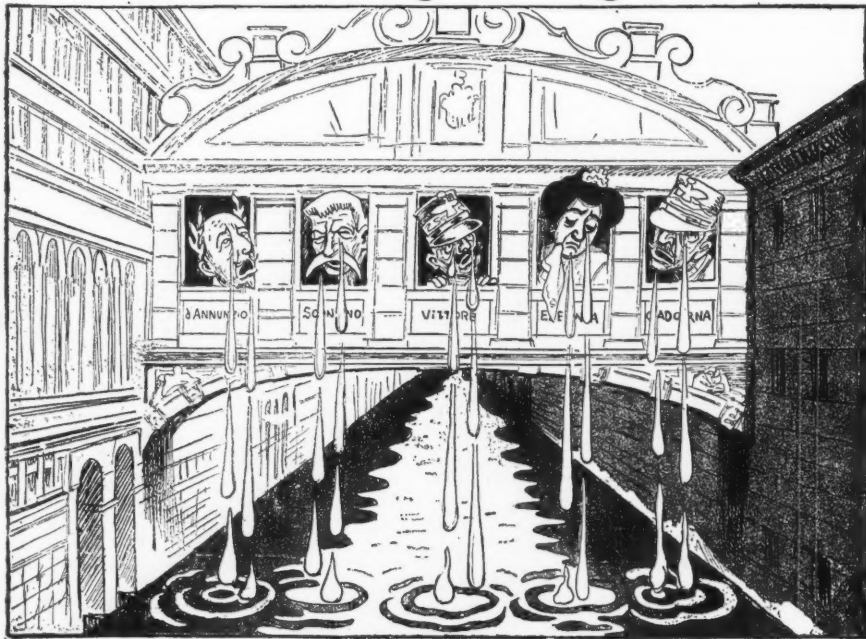
CORPORAL (drilling troops out for a "rest" in a muddy rest camp): "Now, when I says 'Mark time!' I wants to 'ear all yer feet come dahn together on the ground with a click!"

[American Cartoon]
Our War Aims



—Carter in Philadelphia Press. (Mr. Carter died March 1, 1918.)
That's What I'm Here For!

[German Cartoon]
The Bridge of Sighs



"Cease weeping, children, or the canal will overflow."

[Spanish Cartoon]
The Invalids



—From Campana de Gracia, Barcelona.

MARS: "Well, how are you?"
PEACE: "Not at all well. And you?"
MARS: "Rotten, but I can still hold out."

[American Cartoon]

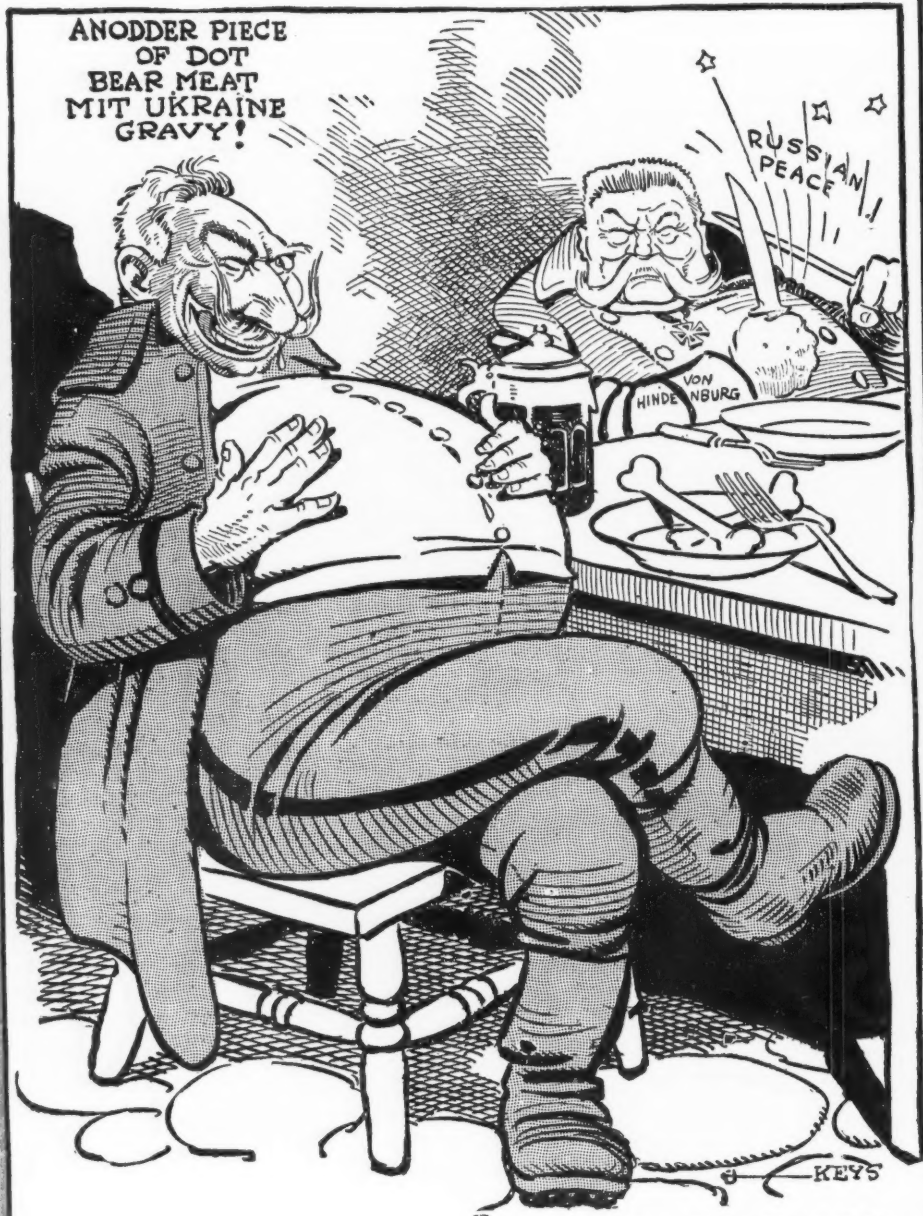
The Prussian Toreador



—Bushnell, for Central Press Association.

[American Cartoon]

It's Filling



—From The Manchester Union.

[Italian Cartoon]

The German God



—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

"Forward with God!"

[American Cartoons]

Labor Throws the Hammer



—New York Herald.

The Bridge to France



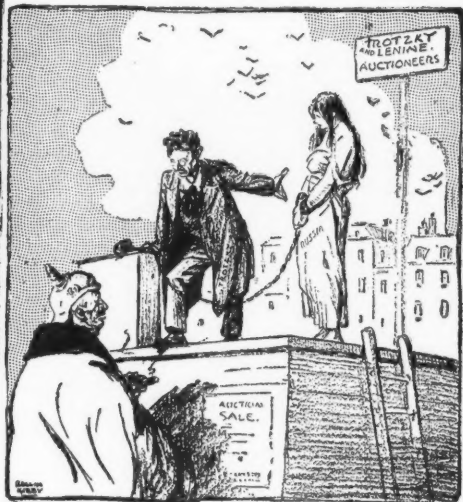
—New York Tribune.

The Operation Was Successful,
but—



—St. Louis Republic.

Sold!



—New York World.

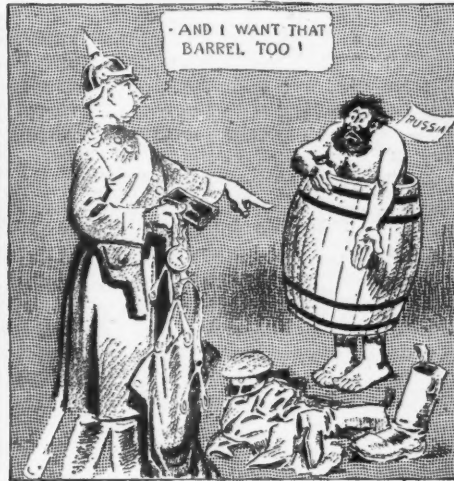
[American Cartoons]

The Autocrats at the Breakfast Table



—Dallas News.

German Thoroughness



—Dallas News.

You're Out of Shtep!



—Baltimore American.

But When She Gets There



—Baltimore American.

[American Cartoons]

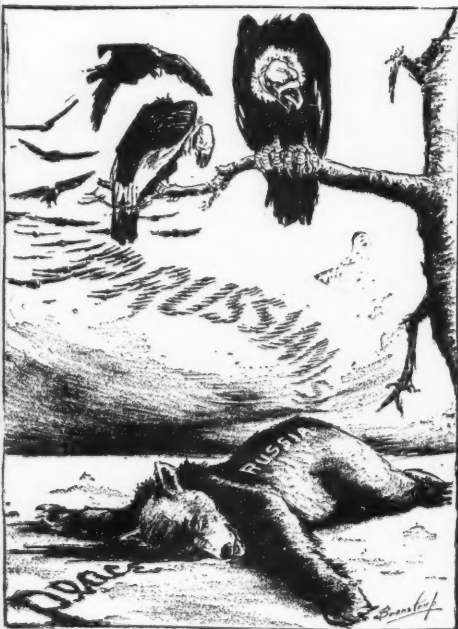
Indigestible Food



The Dance of Death



Now for the Feast



The New Hindenburg Line



—From The San Francisco Chronicle.